

English Reprints

MASTER HUGH LATIMER

Ex-Bishop of Worcester

Seven Sermons before Edward VI.

On each Friday in Lent, 1549

EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER

F.S.A. ETC. LATE EXAMINER IN ENGLISH
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
TO THE UNIVERSITY OF



WESTMINSTER
A. CONSTABLE AND CO.
1895

C O N T E N T S

“CONTENTS, including a rough Analysis of the Sermons, Some events in the Life &c. of Bp. Latimer,	2 8
<u>INTRODUCTION,</u>	11
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY,</u>	16
OC 1546. SEVEN SERMONS BEFORE EDWARD. VI.	22
1. <u>The fyfte Sermon.</u> 8 March, 1549,	17
2. <u>FRANCIS COOPER'S declaration of the seven sermons,</u> sermons, to Lady Katherine, Duchesf of Suffolk,	18
2. <u>The argument of the Sermon,</u>	21
3. <u>ARGUMENTS, SAYINGS, &c.,</u>	22
<p>In this world God has two swords; a temporal in the hands of Kings, magistrates, rulers; and a spiritual in the hands of ministers and preachers. The king corrects transgressors, yea and the preacher also, if he be an offender. The preacher corrects and reproves the King, fearing no man, setting God only before his eyes,</p>	
THE TEXT. Deuteronomy xvii. 14—17,	23
1. ‘ <u>The godly election</u> of a king,	25
Story of the two friends and the horse,	27
‘Who goeth plainly, goeth safely,’	27
It hath pleased God to grant us a natural liege King and Lord, of our own nation, an English man, one of our own religion. God has given him to us and he is a most precious treasure, and yet many of us do desire a stranger to be King over us. . . . The King's grace hath sisters, my Lady Mary, and my Lady Elizabeth, which by succession and course are inheritors to the crown, who if they should marry with strangers, what should ensue GOD knoweth. But God grant they never come unto coursing nor succeeding,	28
ii. <u>The King must not have too many horses, &c.,</u>	30
‘What meaneth it, that God hath to do with the King's stable, but only that he would be Master of his horses. God is great grand master of the King's house, and will take account of every one that beareth rule therein, for the executing of their offices, whether they have justly and truly served the king in their offices or no. Yea God looketh upon the king himself, if he work well or not,’	32
‘I was once offended with the King's horses [which were then stabled in the Abbeys] and therefore took occasion to speak to Henry VIII, iii. <u>The King must not have too many wives,</u>	33
It is a great thing for a man to rule one wife rightly and regularly. For a woman is frail and inclined unto all evil. a woman is a very weak vessel, and may soon deceive a man, and bring him into evil,	33
‘We have now a pretty little shilling, indeed a very pretty one. I have but one I think in my purse, and the last day I had put it away almost for an old groat, and so I trust some will take them. The fineness of the silver I cannot see: but thereon is printed a fine sentence, <i>Timor Domini fons vita vel sapientiae;</i>	34
A notable history of the French king Louis [IX.]	35
‘This king did well, and had the fear of God before his eyes. He would not walk in by-walks, where are many balks [i. e. ridges]. Amongst many balks is much stumbling, and by stumbling it chanceth many times to fall down to the ground.’ [A saying, see p. 56],	36
iv. <u>The King shall not multiply to himself TOO MUCH gold and silver,</u>	38
If there be sufficient treasures, and the king ask his subjects for more, it is <i>too much</i> . Who shall see this <i>too much</i> ? The king himself, with spiritual Eyes: a pair of spectacles, viz. Faith; not a seasonable faith, which shall last but a while, but a faith which continues in God: and Charity, which is fervent towards his Christian brother,	38
Chrysostom's saying, ‘I marvel if any ruler can be saved,’	38
If God will not allow the King <i>too much</i> , he will not allow a subject <i>too much</i> ,	38
A description of the King's honour. In that (i) his subjects be led in	38

CONTENTS.

CHECKED 1988

the true religion: in (2) a wealthy commonwealth: and in (3) the great multitude of the people	39
The Clergy had too much, but now have too little	40
The Yeomanry is made slavery. Latimer's father was a farmer. His position and that of the present holder of the farm contrasted	40
'By yeomen's sons the faith of Christ is and has been maintained chiefly. Is this realm taught by rich men's sons?	41
'A redress God grant. For surely, surely, but that two things do comfort me I would despair of redress in these matters. One is, that the King's majesty when he comes to age: will see a redress of these things so out of frame. The second hope I have is, I believe that the general accounting day is at hand, the dreadful Day of Judgement I mean, which shall make an end of all these calamities and miseries'	42
2. The secunde sermon. 15 March, 1549.	45
1. Thomas Some's address TO THE READER	45
2. ARGUMENTS, SAYINGS, &c.	46
THE TEXT. Deuteronomy xvii. 18-20.	55
'Before I enter into this place . . . I would repeat the place I was in last, and furnish it with a story or two which I left out in my last sermon' <i>Episode in this sermon.</i> The revolt against Solomon and death of Adonijah. [a startling parallel to the case of Lord Seymour of Sudeley, High Admiral of England, then in the Tower, attainted for high treason] 1 Kings ch i. and ii	55
Story of the Cardinal Beaufort, Bp. of Winchester and the good Duke Humphrey	56
<i>i. As God set an order in the King's stable . . . so will he appoint what pastime the king shall have</i>	63
He must be a student, he must write God's book him selfe	64
The Holy Bible, God's book, that we have among us, has been preserved hitherto by a wonderful miracle of God	64
'What a bishop of this realme once said to me' about the Bible	65
The Homilies are called 'homlyes, and in dede they maye be well called, for they are homely handeled'	65
The <i>Scala celi</i> , the true ladder that bringeth a man to heaven, <i>The top.</i> Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved and step. How shall they call on him in whom they haue not believed? <i>3rd step.</i> How shall they beleue in him of whom they haue not heard? <i>4th step.</i> How shall they hear without a preacher? <i>Foot of the ladder.</i> How shall they preach, except they be sent. [Rom. x. 13-15] Take away preaching, take away salvation	67
<i>ii. The King must not be proud above his brethren</i>	68
Wherefore shall a king fear God? That he may reign long, he and his children	69
Solomon's prayer, and the trial of his wisdom narrated	69
'I must desire my Lord protectors grace to hear me in this matter, that your grace would hear poor mens suits yourself'	72
Poor folk come to Latimer to get their causes heard	72
The unjust judge that Christ speaks of	73
'The poor woman that lieth in the Fleet'	74
3. The thyrde sermon. 22 March, 1549.	75
ARGUMENTS, SAYINGS, &c.	75
CONFUTATIONS.—A digression. —The preacher hath two offices 'By sound doctrine both to exhort' and 'to convince the gainsayers'	75
'This day I must somewhat do in the second office. I must be a gainsayer, and I must stop their mouthes . . . and confute that they speak slanderously of me'	78
Rehearsal of the previous sermons	78
'Now to my confutation. (a) There is a certain man that shortly after my first sermon, being asked—before the King's majesty, p. 78—if he had be at the sermon that day, answered Yea. I pray you, said he, how liked you him? Marry said he, even as I lyked him always, a seditious fellow'	78
(b) How Latimer was accused of sedition to Henry VIII.	82

(e) How on giving up his bishopric [July 1539] he sent his commissary to collect a Pentecostal due of £55: but he could not be suffered, 'a sedition would rise upon it. Thus they burdened me ever with sedition'

83

(a) So this gentleman commeth up now with sedition. And wot ye what? I chanced in my last Sermon to speak a merry word of the new shilling, to refresh my audience, how I was like to put away my new shilling for an old groat [¶ 35], I was herein noted to speake sediciously

84

(b) When I was in trouble, it was objected and said unto me, that I was singular, that no man thought as I thought, that I loved a singularity in all that I did. Marry sir this was a sore thunderbolt I thought it was an irksome thing to be alone, and to have no fellow. I thought it was possible it might not be true that they told me 'as of Christ in John ch vii "I thought I was not alone. I have now gotten one fellow more, a companion of sedition, and wot ye who is my fellow? Isaiah the Prophet [i. 22]'. Ah seditious wretch what had he to do with the Mint?" Here he meddleth also with vintners? (I must tell you more news yet. I hear say, there is a certain cunning come up in mixing of wares. The clothmakers have become apothecaries) Isaiah goeth yet on. He calls magistrates unfaithful and fellows of thieves. There are two kinds of thieving. Robbery is a gross kind and Bribery a princely kind of thieving. 'Giff-gaff was a good fellow. This Giff-gaff led them clean from justice'

84-89

Story of the good fellow and the pudding 'Bribing magistrates and judges follow gifts faster, than the fellow would follow the pudding'

89

The same man that laid sedition thus to my charge, was asked another time, whether he were at the sermon at Paul's Cross. He answered he was there. And being asked what news there. Marry, quoth he, wonderful news, we were there clean absolved, my mule and all had full absolution. Ye may see by this, that he was such a one that rode on a mule and that he was a gentleman. Indeed, his mule was wiser than he, for I dare say the mule never slandered the Preacher. Oh what an unhappy chance had this mule to carry such an ass on his back. I was there at the sermo. myself. In the end of his sermon the preacher gave a general absolution, &c

89

(e) Another man quickened with a word I spoke (as he said opprobiously against the nobility that their children did not set forth God's word, but were unpreaching prelates), [¶ 41] was offended with me. I did not mean so, but that some noblemen's children had set forth God's word. Howbeit the poor men's sons have done it always for the most part

90

90

John Alasco Melancthon. Peter Martyr. Bernard Ochin.

Now I wil to my place again. In the latter end of my sermon I exhorted judges to hear the small as well as the great. The delaying of matters of the poor folk, is a sinful before the face of God as wrong judgement

91

91

THE TEXT. The parable of the unjust judge. Luke xviii. 1-8.

91

i. *Why our Saviour Christ, rather used the example of a wicked Judge than a good*

95

Bylyke good judges were rare at that time, and trow ye the devil has been asleep ever since?

95

ii. *It is good and lawful for God's people to use the laws of the realm as an ordinary help against their adversaries: so they do it not of malice*

96

'The greatest man in the realm cannot so hurt a Judge as the poor widow . . . And with what armour I pray you? She can bring the Judges' skin over his ears, and never lay hands upon him'

96

Story of Cambyses and the Judge whom he flayed alive

97

The sign of 'the Judge's Skin.'

97

God has two visitations. The first is, when he reveals his word by preachers, the second is, vengeance. Where the first is accepted, the second comes not

97

'Man's heart is unsearchable.' Story of the prisoner executed at Oxford

98

CONTENTS.

5

'I will leave here, for I think you know what I mean well enough' [an allusion to the Lord Admiral, that day sentenced to die in that week]

101

4. *The fourth Sermon.* 29 March, 1549.

ARGUMENTS, SAYINGS, &c.	102
Rehearsal of previous sermon	102
THE TEXT Conclusion of the parable of the unjust judge. Luke xviii. 3-8	103
<i>Episode in this Sermon</i> 500 Anabaptists in a single town in England, where the bishop of the diocese is an unpreaching prelate	103
Good pastors are worthy of double honour, to be reverenced of the people, and to have all things necessary for their state	105
The merry monk in Latimer's college, at Cambridge	106
'A vengeance of that <i>Bene</i> , quoth the monk'	106
Unpreaching prelates worthy of double dishonour to be cast out, 'make them quondams', and not to be esteemed	107
A chaplain complains to his Bishop, of Latimer's second sermon (§ 66) The Bishop answers, 'Well, I did wisely to-day, for as I was going to his sermon, I remembered that I had neither said mass nor matins. And homeward I got as fast as I could, and I thank God I have said both, and let his unfruitful Sermon alone'	108
Latimer adds, 'Unfruitful says one, another says seditious Well unfruitful is the best, and whether it be unfruitful or no, I cannot tell. It heth not in me to make it fruitful I am God's instrument but for a time	108
<i>i. Judges and magistrates should look to their offices</i>	109
The Devil, the great magistrate is very busy now	112
He goeth about as much as he can to corrupt the men of law	113
Oh that a man might have the contemplation of hell, that the devil would allow a man to look into hell to see the state of it, as he showed all the world when he tempted Christ in the wilderness	113
<i>ii. The unjust did not think himself as he said: but our Saviour Christ puts him to say that thing, which was bid unto himself Learn therefore, How unsearchable a man's heart is</i>	114
'A man seemeth not to fear death, therefore his cause is good.' is not a good argument. The Anabaptists died intrepidly. Christ was afraid of death	116
The last acts of the Lord Admiral were seditious.	117-119
Lord Darcy's speech (in 1537) in the Tower, to Latimer	119
'All Traitors pretend nothing against the King, but against others'	119
Story of the two men hanged at Oxford for robbing a priest, 'twenty years ago'	119
<i>iii. The end and purpose of the parable is That we should be continually in prayer</i>	122
'Call upon me in the day of trouble' is as much a commandment as 'Thou shalt not steal'	122
Why would God have us so diligent in prayer. Prayer is not lip-labouring, babbling, or monkery. What makes our prayer acceptable?	123
'Our prayer pleases God, because Christ pleases God. When we pray, we come unto him in the confidence of Christ's merits, and thus offering up our prayers, they will be heard for Christ's sake'	124
A poor woman in the belfry hath as good authority to offer up the sacrifice of prayer through Christ, as a Bishop in <i>pontificibus</i>	125
'This must be done with a constant faith and a sure confidence in Christ. Faith! faith! faith! We are undone for lack of faith'	125
This faith is a great state, a Lady, a Duchess, a great woman. She hath ever a great company and train about her (as a noble state ought to have). First she hath a Gentleman-Usher that goes before her. Where he is not, there is not Lady <i>Faith</i> . This Gentleman-Usher is called <i>Knowledge of sin</i> . So she hath a train that come behind, and yet though they come behind, they be all of <i>Faith's</i> company, her whole household, and these are <i>The works of our vocation</i>	126
'I have troubled you long, partly being out of my matter, partly being in	129

5. The Fyfte Sermon. 5 April, 1549.

ARGUMENTS, SAYINGS, &C.	130
Rehearsal of previous sermon	130
Eulogium of Cardinal Pole, 'the king's traitor,' who might have been Archbishop of York, if he had kept his allegiance	133
The book the Cardinal sent Henry VIII. <i>Pro ecclesiastica imitatis defensione</i>	135
'The Cardinal said in it that 'a kyng is an odious word' The memory of this determines THE SUBJECT of this day's sermon. (Whether God's people may be governed by a governor, that bears the name of a king or not!)	132
THE TEXT. Sam vii 1-3, and xii 2-5	134
'The unlearned (although I am sure, here be a great many learned)'	134
Story of Samuel	134
i Samuel in his old age took his sons as helpers and coadjutors, to have his office well discharged	135
ii The wickedness of his sons	136
I am sure this is <i>Scala inferni</i> , [the ladder of hell, p 139] the right way to hell to be covetous, to take bribes, and to pervert justice. If a judge should ask me the way to hell, I would show him this way. First let him be a covetous man, then let him go a little further and take bribes, and lastly pervert justice. There lacks a fourth to make up the mess <i>Hangum tuum</i> , a Tyburn tippet	141
The innocent widow executed, within these thirty years	141
Story of the rich Pretor of Rome, in Pope Julius' time	142
It is possible for a man to answer at the bar, to have the form of law, and yet have wrong done to him: and to be attainted in his absence, and yet have right done to him	143
Men may be condemned in their absence, but not often so that it be rarely used, seldomly, for avoiding disturbance in the commonwealth	143
'Some liken me to Doctor Shaw, that preached at Pauls Cross, that King Edward [IV] 's sons were bastards'	145
'The Council need not my lie for the defence of that which they do'	145
Lady Covetousness is a fruitful woman, ever chiding, and ever bringing forth her fruts	146
Story of the patron and the priest with the golden apples	147
iii. <i>The people offended God not in asking a King, but in doing so to the wrong and deposition of Samuel</i>	150
You judges of the world, bribes will make you pervert justice. Why you will say, We touch none. No Marry, but my mistress your wife hath a fine finger. She touches it for you or else you have a servant a <i>Muneribus</i>	151
Story of the Merchant that killed the Searcher	152
A murderer saved by bribery. 'Here was a <i>Not guilty</i> for twelve crowns' If there crowns were shaven to the shoulders, they were serv'd well enough	153
The mother guilty of infanticide, acquitted by friends and bribing	153
An innocent gentleman 'a professor of the word of God (he sped never the better for that ye may be sure)'—hanged for a murder, to which another man afterwards confessed and was hanged	154
iv <i>Samuel cleared himself, at the King's feet. He did not 'bear' with his sons</i>	155
6. The Sixte Sermon. 12 April, 1549.	158
ARGUMENTS, SAYINGS, &C.	158
Rehearsal of previous sermon	158
'I have heard say since of another murder. A Spaniard that killed an Englishman' Augustine's saying [<i>De vera religione</i> , xiv.]	161
The excellency of archery	161
'In my time, my poor father, was diligent to teach me to shoot'	162
THE TEXT. The miraculous draught of fishes. Luke v. 1-7	162
The miracle is expounded and applied	163
Dr. N. Gorham [Nicholas de Gorrau, b. 1235—d. 1295] says 'There is more devotion in lay folk and old wives than in the clergy'	164

CONTENTS.

Story of the gentlewoman that went to St. Thomas of Acres (in Cheapside), to sleep in sermon time	166
Latimer reproves the noisiness of his audience	169
Why did Christ go in the boat That he might sit more commodiously and that he might not be thrust in the water. Why, he was stronger than they all? He might have stood on the water as well as he walked on the water. 'Truth it is, so might he have done indeed. But as it was sometimes his pleasure to show the power of his God-head, so he declared now the infirmity and weakness of his manhood'	170
Why rather comes he to Simon's boat than another? Just as I came hither to-day from Lambeth in a wherry, I chose that one next me	170
Christ taught sitting A godly pulpit,—an old rotten boat And yet he preached his Father's will out of this pulpit	172
Story of the Bishop 'and the broken bell-clapper'	172
Latimer, when a bishop, riding homeward, is fain in a town to give place to Robin Hood's men	173
Robin Hood 'a traytour and a thief.' [Apparently, neither Latimer nor his audience doubted his existence]	174
'A joly text by Dyonisius [de Leuwis de Rickel. b 1594—d 12 Mar. 1471] I chanced to mete with his book in my Lord of Canterbury's library. He was a monk of the Charterhouse'	175
The speech to Peter did not make him a great man, any more than that to Judas afterwards	176
There is never a wherryman at Westminster Bridge but can give a natural reason why Christ spoke in the singular to Peter <i>Launch out into the deep</i> , and in the plural, <i>Loose your nets</i> . He knows that one man is able to shove the boat, but that one man was not able to cast out the nets	176
<i>Christ will have all Christian men to work for their living</i>	177
The blessing of God maketh a man rich	179
 7. The seventh Sermon. Good Friday, 19 April, 1549.	
ARGUMENTS, SAYINGS, &c.	182
Summary of the previous six sermons	182
THE TEXT. Christ's Agony at Gethsemane. Matt. xxvi. 36—44, &c.	183
<i>The narrative expounded in narration</i>	183
The ugsome and horrible Image of hell, which is death. Men have been afraid of this 'horrible Image of death,' as Ahithophel, Job, David, Jonah, Hezekiah, Peter, 'little Bilney, that blessed martyr of God.'	187
If ever you come to prison for God's quarrel, I will advise you first and above all things to abjure your friends, leave not one unabjured	189
A similitude of what Christ did for us	191
'You have many goodly gardens, I would you would in the midst of them consider what agony our Saviour suffered in his garden'	192
There is a difference between being tempted and entering into temptation. To be tempted is no evil thing. For what is it? No more than when the flesh, the devil, and the world do solicit and move us against God. To give place to these suggestions, to yield ourselves, and to suffer ourselves to be overcome of them: this is to enter into temptation	294
The Lord Admiral a contemner of common [i. e. family] prayer	197
O Lord! what a wonderful thing is this, thus horror of death is worse than death itself: more ugsome, more bitter than any bodily death	200
What a do was it to bring the blood of Hales of the King's [Henry VIII.] mind	201
A great man's advice to Latimer on his first coming to court	201
Latimer's argument for his belief, That our Saviour suffered not only bodily in the garden and on the cross, but that his soul suffered disproportionately the pains of hell, corresponding to the sin of the whole world	203
The love of a Christian man is nothing but a readiness to die, and a remembrance of death	206
'Mix your pleasures with the remembrance of Christ's bitter passion'	206
Conclusion	207

Some
circumstances in the
LIFE, &c.
of
Master H U G H L A T I M E R,
chiefly referring to or illustrated by
these
SERMONS.

* Probable or approximate dates

1485. Aug. 22. Henry VII. becomes King.

HUGH LATIMER is born at Thurcaston. A house near the church—built in 1568, on the site of a more ancient one—is usually called *Latimer's house*. *¶ Nichol. Hist. of Co of Leicester* iii. 1056, 1661-70.
His account of his parentage, *¶* 40.
How they called pigs in his country (Leicestershire), *¶* 98.
His father carefully trains him in archery, *¶* 162.
He goes to Cambridge.

1509. Apr 22 Henry VIII begins to reign.

The merry monk of his college, *¶* 106.
Graduates B A. *Univ. Regr.*

At Cambridge. There were several Latimers at Cambridge about this time. This professor of Greek there was *William Latimer*, not *Hugh Latimer*; as stated in *The Ploughers*, Ed. 1868.

1514. July. Graduates M A. *Univ. Regr.*
set. 22. When a priest, his anxiety to mix sufficient water with the wine in the Sacrament, *¶* 86.
*1521 or 1522. 'Little Bilney,' *¶* 183, converts him to Protestantism.
*1529 The robbery at Oxford, *¶* 110.
1530 Mar. 12. Preaches his first sermon before Henry VIII.

At Court. Comes to court, as a chaplain. The advice a great man gave him then, *¶* 201.

As he afterwards tells the king, 'I never thought my self worthy, nor I never sued to be a preacher before your Grace, but I was called to it.' *¶* 83.

What a Bishop said once to him, *¶* 65.

Cardinal Pole publishes at Rome, his letter to the King in 4 books, *Pro ecclesiasticae iimitatis defensione*: see *¶* 133.

1535 Oct. 5 Latimer becomes Bishop of Worcester
1537 May—June. His conversation in the Tower with Lord Darcy [who was beheaded June 20], *¶* 110.

T. Dorset, Curate of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, thus writes to his friends.—

1538. Mar. 10. 'On Sunday last the byshop of Worcester preched at Paulis Crosse, and he saide that byshopis, abbatis, prioris, parsonis, cannonis resident, pristis, and all, were stronge thevis, ye dukis, lordis, and all; the kyng, quod he, made a marvelles good acte of parliament that certayne men should sowe eury of them ij. acres of hempe, but it were all to litle were it so moche more, to hange the thevis that be in England. Byshopis, abbatis, with soche other, shold not haue so many seruauntes, nor so many dyashes, but to goo to their first foundacion, and kepe hospitalytic to fede the nedye people, not jolye felows with golden chaynes and velvet gownys, ne let theym not ons come into the howses of religioun for repaste; let them call, knaue bysshope, knaue abbat, knaue prior, yet fed non of theym all, nor their horses, nor their doggis, nor ye[t] sett men at

Bishop of Worcester.

In ward.

‘Preaching for the most part every Sunday two Sermons’—*Berkeley*.

libertye ; also to ete fleshe and whit mete in Lent, so that it be don without hurtyng of weke consciences, and without sedition, and lykewise on Fridaye and all dayes’—
Cottonian M.S. Cleop. E iv fol 110 [See *Letters relating to Suppression of Monasteries*, Ed. by T. Wright, p 38. Ed. 1843.]

? ‘I was once at Oxford . . . I lay there a night’ The execution there, p 101.

? May 1. Riding home from London, he intends preaching in a town on his way, ‘because it was a holy day’ [Feast of the Apostles *Philip and James*]. He expects to find ‘a greate company’ in the church: but is forced to give way to Robin Hood, p 173.

? Is accused of sedition in presence of the king, p 83.

? Is accused of a syngularity in all that he dyd, p 84.

1539. June 1. He resigns his bishopric ‘As for my quondamshyp I thancke God that he gaue me ye grace to come by it by so honest a meanes as I dyd,’ p 108.

1539. Is defrauded of his Pentecostal due of £55, p 83.
 Is in ward with Bp of Chichester, and in daily expectation of death, p 120. For nearly the next eight years he is ‘commanded to silence.’

1547. Jan. 29. *Edward VI. ascends the throne.*

1548. Jan. 1. In the 1. of Ianuary doctor Latimer preached at Paules crosse, which was the first sermon by him preached in almost eight yeeres before, for at the making of the sixe articles, he being bishop of Worcester would not consent vnto them, and therfore was commanded to silence, and gaue vp his bishoprike: he also preached at Paules crosse on the 8. of Ianuary ; where he affirmed, that whatsoeuer the cleargie commanded, ought to be obeyed, but he also declared that the cleargie are such as sit in *Moyse's chaire*, and breake not their masters commission : adding nothing thereto, nor taking any thing there from: and such a cleargy must be obeyed of all men, both high and lowe He also preached at Paules on the 15. and on the 29. of Ianuary. *F. Stow, Chronicles*, p 1002. Ed 1605.

Mar. 7. The 7 of March, being Wednesday was a pulpit set vp in the kings prime garden at Westminster, and there in doctor *Latimer* preached before the king, where he mought be heard of more than fourte times so manie people as could haue stod in the kings chappel: and this was the first sermon preached there *Idem*.

[*The Literary Remains of Ed. VI.* Edited by J. S. Nichols. Roxburghe Club, 1857, and *Burghley State Papers*, Edited by Rev. S. Haynes, 1740, are recommended for full details as to the following.]

25. (Palm Sunday) Latimer preached before the King and receives the usual 20s for his labour.

1549. Jan 17, The 16. of Ianuarie, Sir *Tho. Seimer* knight of the garter, baron of Sudley, lord admirall, brother to the lord Proctector, and vncle vnto king Edward, was arrested, and sent to the tower of London . . . *F. Stow, idem*, p 1004

Jan. 18. Latimer preaches in St. Paul's ‘shrouds,’ the sermon on *The Ploughers*.

He lives with Cranmer at Lambeth Palace. Poor people come to him in the garden to have their suits heard, p 72.

Attends a sermon at Paul's Cross, p 89.

The council go in a body to the Tower to examine the Lord Admirall on 33 articles. He refuses to answer, except on examination.

The King consents to his prosecution.

CHRONICLE.

25. A deputation from both houses of Parliament also go to the Tower. Lord Seymour replies to 3 articles, and refuses to answer the rest.

25—Mar 6 A Bill of Attainder of the Lord Admiral passes through both Houses of Parliament.

Mar 5. (Friday) *The first sermon*, in Lent, before the King at Westminster. ‘The duty of a King.’
‘I haue no cause to complaine, for I thanke God and the King I haue sufficient,’ p. 40.
A gentleman, ‘suche an one that’ rode on a mule, accuses him of sedition to the king, pp. 78, 84, 89, 90.
A bishop’s opinion of this sermon, p. 108

10. (Sunday) The King assents to the Bill of Attainder of Lord Seymour. Rev. John Joseph, D.D., Rector of Mary le-Bow, preaches before the King

15. (Friday) Goodrich Bp of Ely sent to prepare the Lord Admiral for death.
The second sermon. ‘The duty of a King.’
The above bishop’s chaplain complains of what he says at p. 66, *see p. 108*.

27. (Sunday) The Lord Admiral’s execution is fixed by the Council for the following Wednesday. The Rev. Giles Eyre, D.D., preaches before the King.

(Wednesday) The Lord Admiral is beheaded; *see p. 117*.

22. (Friday) *The third sermon*. ‘The unjust Judge.’

4. (Sunday) Rev. Matthew Parker, afterwards Primate, preaches before the King.

28. (Thursday) “xxxij. Martij.—This day sir Michael Stanhope kn. by commandment and order of the lord protector’s grace and counsaile, received of mr. Latynmer of such the King’s money as came of concelement, and now delivered by th’ exhortation of the said mr. Latynmer, the summe of iijclxxijl. [6373] whereof they appointed presently Ll. [450] by way of the King’s reward to be given to the said mr. Latynmer in respect of his attendance at court this Lent, and the rest to be used for payments in his charge” *Privy-council Register, M.S. Addit. Brit. Mus. 14,024*. fol. 107. *See Lit. Rem. of Ed. VI.* p. cxxviii.
Latimer—for his defence of the Government—is likened to Dr Ralph Shaw, who on 22 June, 1483, at Paul’s Cross, preached that Edward IV.’s sons were bastards, p. 145.

29. (Friday) *The fourth sermon*. ‘The unjust Judge.’

31. (Sunday) Rev. James Curthop, Dean of Peterborough, preaches before the King. *see p. 136*.

Apr. 5. (Friday) *The fifth sermon*. ‘The lawfulness of Kings.’

7. (Sunday) Name of preacher on this day not known.

12. (Friday) *The sixth sermon*. ‘The miraculous draught of Fishes.’

14. (Sunday) Rev. Richard Coxe, D.D., the King’s almoner, preaches before the King.

19. (Good Friday) *The seventh sermon*. ‘The Agony in the Garden.’

1550. Lent. “And here I would be a Suter vnto your Majestie to come now to take my leaue, and to take my swiche as at least wile in this place, for I haue not long to live, and that I thinke I shall never come here into this place again, and therefore I will take a petition of your Majestie, for the love of God take an order for me to be here in my land.” *Last sermon before Ed. VI.* p. 477, p. 108.

1550. Lent. Thomas Lever preaches before the King.

1551. Latimer named a commissioner on the Ecclesiastical

Seven Sermons before Edward VI.

INTRODUCTION.

N a time of seething change, of not a little uncertainty, and of exciting conflict in religious and social life ; the Great Preacher of England once more comes forth to preach. Not on this occasion chiefly to citizens, as in the four sermons upon God's seed and God's ploughers, to the Londoners in the 'Shrouds at pauleschurche' two months ago ; but now, he stands in the presence of the young King, of the Lord Protector and the Council, of the Court, and—in so far as any spontaneous assembly could represent it—of the Nation at large.

From the 1st July, 1539, when Latimer laid down his bishophood rather than accept 'The Act of the Six Articles,' until the accession of Edward VI.,—nearly eight years—he, John Stow tells us, had been 'commanded to silence.' He had signalized his resumption of the office of a preacher, with a sermon at Paul's Cross on 1st January, 1548 ; and Augustine Bernher, his Swiss servant, testifies 'he continued all Kyng Edwardes tyme, preaching for the most part euery Sonday two Sermons.' So that his fame increased yet more and more, and the knowledge that he was about to preach attracted a large audience.

This was the third time he had preached Lenten sermons before his Sovereign. In 1534, fifteen years previous, he had preached every Wednesday in Lent before Henry VIII. But a year ago, John Stow tells us,—

The 7 of March, being Wednesday, was a pulpit set vp in the King's priuie garden at Westmynster, and therein doctor *Latimer* preached before the King, where he mought be heard of more then foure times so manie people as could haue stood in the King's chappell : and this was the first sermon preached there. And now once more he is summoned to like duty, unexpectedly and upon short notice.

The time apparently is in the forenoon. He comes from Lambeth Palace, sometimes on horseback, or—when he has a purpose to serve—in a wherry down the river. Here is his own picture of himself :—

'I . . . whyche am thoroughe age, boethe weake in body and obliuious, vnapte I am, not only because of paynful study, but also for the short warning,' p 26.

He pictures his audience in thus reproving them :—

'He [Chrysostom] meanes they hard hym [Christ] quietely with out any shouelynge of feete, or walkynge vp and downe. Suerly it is an yl mysorder, that folke shalbe walkyng vp and downe in the sermon tyme (as I haue sene in this place thys Lente) and there shalbe suche buffynge and buffynge in the preachers eare, that it, maketh hym often tymes to forget hys matter. O let vs consider the Kynges Maiestyes goodnes, Thys place was prepared for banketyng of the bodye, and hys Maiestye hath made it a place for the conforte of the soule, and to haue the worde of God preached in it, shewynge hereby that he would haue all hys subiectes at it, if it myghte be possible. Consider what the Kynges Maiestye hathe done for you, he alloweth you all to heare wyth hym. Consider where ye be, fyrst ye oughte to haue a reuerence to Godds word, and though he it be preached by pore men, yet it is the same worde that oure Sauioure spake.

Consider also the prefence of the Kynges Maiestie Gods highe 'ycare in earth, hauyng a respect to his personag, ye ought to haue reuerence to it, and consider that he is goddes hyghe minister, and yet alloweth you all to be partakers with him of ye heryng of gods word. This benefit of his would be thankefully taken, and it would be highly estemed. Heare in silence, as Chrysostom fayeth. It maye chaunce that sume in the compayne may fall sicke, or be diseased, if therebe any suche, let them go away with silence, let them leaue their salutacions till they come in the courte, let them departe with silence. I toke occasion of Chrysotomes wordes to admonyshe you of thys thynge.' p 169. From which it would seem that the assembly met within doors, in a banqueting room of the Palace.

Preaching extempore, with hardly any specific preparation (the subiect of the fifth sermon was determined upon, while riding from one Palace to the other), one guiding duty directed his thoughts, viz., to adapt his subiect to his audience.

'If he [a preacher] preache before a kyng, let hys matter be concernyng the offyce of a kinge.' p 25.

'I comminge ridinge in my way, and calling to remembran^{the}ce wherfore I was sent, that I must preach, and preach afore ye kyngs maiest I thought it mete to frame my preaching according to a king.' p 133.

But he remembers others as well ; and following his praiseworthy habit of summarizing at the beginning of each sermon the teaching of the previous one, we have

in his own opening words of the Seventh, the design and purpose worked out by him in this Lenten series.

' Al thynges yat be written, thei be written to be our doctrine. By occasion of thys texte (most honorable audience) I haue walked thys Lente in the brode filde of scripture and vfed my libertie, and intreated of such matters as I thought, mete for thys auditory. I haue had a do wyth many estates, euen with the highest of all, I haue entreated of the dutye of Kynges, of the dutye of maiestrates, and Iudges, of the dutye of prelates, allowyng that yat is good and disallowyng the contrary. I haue taught that we ar all synners, I thinke there is none of vs al, neither precher, nor hearer but we maye be amended, and redresse oure lyues. We maye all faye, yea all the packe of vs, *peccauimus cum patribus nostris.* We haue offended and synned with our forefathers. *In multis offendimus omnes.* There is none of vs al, but we haue in sondry thinges greuously offended almyghtie God. I here intreated of many fautes and rebuked manye kyndes of synnes. I intende to daye by Goddes grace, to shew you the remedy of synne. We be in the place of repentauunce, nowe is the tyme to cal for mercy, whyles we be in this worlde. We be all synners, euen the best of vs all. Thereifore it is good to here the remedy of synne. This daye is commonlye called good Fryday, although eueri daye ought to be with vs good fryday, Yet this daye we ar accustomed specially to haue a commemoration and remembraunce of the passion of our saiuour Iesu Christ. This daye we haue in memory hys bytter Passion and death, which is the remedy of our syn. Therefore I intende to intreat of a pece of the story of hys passion. I am not able to intreate of all. That I may do that the better, and that it maye bee to the honour of God and edification of youre foules and myne both, I shal desyrie you to praye etc.'

This, then, is what he had to say. How he said it must be seen in the discursive discourses themselves.

The sermons of Latimer, T. Lever, and others, preached in king Edward's reign are endued with interest, partly as revealing the reforming spirit of the Reformers, their honesty, courage, and defence of the poor; and partly showing us how the Protestants thought and purposed in the new sunshine of favour that gleamed for a while over them and their works.

We must forget all we know since the date of these sermons; and anticipate, as Latimer anticipated, a long life to the King, and the progressive but uninterrupted establishment of the Protestant faith in the land.

The manhood of the champions on both sides of

religious belief is most striking. Men staked their lives upon the truth of their credence, yet equally were they ready to exact the lives of others for what they considered to be heresies of faith. So Anabaptists intrepidly dying, only for their belief, extort from Latimer but a cold admiration. Such frightful mistakes have good men committed, thinking they were 'doing God service.'

Of the body of Latimer's sermons; the Eight before the King constitute, as it were, the official portion, dealing with national affairs. The Seven on *The Lord's Prayer*, and those preached 'in Lincolnshire,' deal more with devotional exposition and the personal religious life of man.

Besides a number of autographical reminiscences of the Preacher, these sermons contain most important data towards the history of England at this juncture. They must be read in constant remembrance of the great Attainder for High Treason just concluding as they began, and which resulted in the beheading on Tower Hill—on the Wednesday morning between the Third and Fourth sermons—of the king's uncle, the Lord Admiral, Lord Seymour of Sudely—brother to the Lord Protector, the Duke of Somerset. Hence the otherwise hardly necessary episode at the beginning of the second sermon. Latimer there narrates the revolt and death of Adonijah, to an audience who could not but apply the startling parallel to the great prisoner in the Tower. Further on in these sermons he gives us hints and details as to the death and character of this man; some of which were omitted in subsequent editions.

These sermons for the times also bear witness of the times. Sir Thomas More, in his *Utopia*, forty years previously, had complained of the 'great dearth of victualles' in England. Everything had since become, and was becoming, dearer. These economic changes, everything being of more value—now accepted as a test of growing prosperity—were looked upon at the time as an unmitigated evil. So that from facts narrated in such bewailings, we now can approximately measure the growth of wealth in England, subsequent to the wars of the Roses.

But the Preacher has not simply to do with earthly things. His sermons are interpenetrated with Scripture; his whole thought is Biblical. To Thomas Some and others he was more than a preacher, he was to them a prophet like unto Elijah.

‘Whome God hath appoynted a prophet, vnto our most noble Kyng, and vnto our Realme of England, to declare the message of the lyuynge God, to supplante and rote out al sinnes and vice, to plante and grafe in mens hartes the plenteoufnes of al spiritual blisfynges in Iesu Chryst our Lorde?’ p 19.

These ‘playn Pasquyls . . . that kepeth nothing back,’ these unsparing denunciations of wrong-doing and good-omission, these merry or shocking tales, this homely but abundant eloquence: these, all these, were not all Latimer. He had a vivid, though it may be a rough grasp of the unseen, of the spiritual. He equals Luther in his conception of the Evil one; and ‘the Contemplation of Hell,’ the ugsome and horrible ‘Image of death,’ ‘the noble Duches Faith,’ and her attendants, are all most striking realizations.

Truly Latimer did what he could with all his might; and a lasting fame is but due to his consistent life, his noble deeds, his martyr’s death.

Finally, the Preacher takes leave of King, Court, and People in words of mingled hope and warning: words worthy of him, and as true now as when, with their last found, closed ‘the famous Friday sermons of Lent,’ 1549.

‘Loke where remission of sin is, ther is acknowledging of sin also. Fayth is a noble duches, she hath euer her gentleman vther going before her, the confessing of sinnes, she hath a trayne after her, the frutes of good workes, the walking in the commandementes of god. He yat beleueth, wyll no[t] be idle, he wyl walke, he wil do his busines, haue euer the gentleman vther with you. So if ye wil trye fayth, remember this rule, consider whether the trayne be waytinge vpon her. Yf you haue another fayth then thys, a whoremonkers fayth, you are lyke to go [to] ye Scalding house, and ther you shal haue two dishes, wepyng and gnashinge of teeth, muche good do it you, you se your fare. If ye wil beleue and acknowledge your synnes, you shall come to ye blessed communion of the bitter passion of Christ, worthily, and so attayne to euerlastynge lyfe, to the whiche the father of heauen bringes you and me. Amen.’

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Seven Sermons before Edward VI.

* Editions not seen.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime

I. As a separate publication.

1. 1549. London.
2 vols. 12mo.

Editiones principes. These sermons were originally printed in two separate small volumes. The first sermon alone, of which see the title on the opposite page and the Imprint at p. 44: and the other six sermons together, with a somewhat misleading title, as at p. 45, the address to his second volume being dated 21 June [1549], p. 54. Whether these two works were separately published I do not know. It is possible that the first may have been issued in advance; as an instalment towards satisfying the readers' patience. In all subsequent editions in 4to, the seven sermons are treated as one series.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

I. As a separate publication.

5. 1 Feb. 1869. London.
1 vol. 8vo

English Reprints: see title at page 2.

II. With other works.

2. 1562. London.

27 Sermons preached by . . . Maister Hugh Latimer. 1 Hys sermon Ad Clerum. 2 Hys fourth sermon on the Plough. 3 Hys 7 sermons before Kyng Edward. AMES Typ. Ant. iv. 94. Ed. 1819.

3. 1571. London.
1 vol. 4to.

Fvrteful Sermons preached by the Right reverend father, and constant Martyr of Iesus Christ. M. Hugh Latymer &c. Printed by JOHN DAY.

4. 1575. London
1 vol. 4to

The edition of 1571: with a fresh title-page dated 1575, and a new imprint dated 1571.

5. 1578. London
1 vol. 4to.

The same title as No. 3. Printed by JOHN DAY.

6. 1584. London.
1 vol. 4to.

The same title as No. 3. Printed by JOHN DAY.

7. 1596. London.
1 vol. 4to.

The same title as No. 3. Reprinted by Valentine Sims.

8. 1635. London.
1 vol. 4to.

The same title as No. 3. Printed by Thomas Carter for the Companie of STATIONERS.

9. 1758. London.
2 vols. 8vo.

The Sermons of . . . Muster Hugh Latimer The present seven sermons are in vol. i.

10. 1788. London.
2 vols. 8vo.

Sermons on various subjects by Hugh Latimer. The present sermons are in vol. i.

11. 1824. London.
2 vols. 8vo.

The Sermons . . . of Hugh Latimer &c Ed by JOHN WATKINS LL.D. The present sermons are in vol. i.

12. 1830. London.
1 vol. 8vo.

British Reformers. Select sermons and Letters of Mr. Hugh Latimer. Includes the seventh of the present sermons only.

13. 1845. Cambridge.
2 vols. 8vo.

Parker Society. The works of Hugh Latimer &c. Ed. by G. E. CORRIE, B.D. The present sermons are in vol. i.

III. Abridgments, Extracts, &c.

14. 1808. London.
2 vols. 8vo.

The Fathers of the English Church. Ed. by Rev. LACK RICHMOND. The seventh sermon is in vol. ii. 419—445, and Extracts from second and fourth at pp. 650—655.

¶ The fyrste
Sermon of May-
ster Hughe Latimer, whi-
che he preached before
the Kynges Maiest.

Wþthin his gra-
ces palayce at
Westmyn-
ster. A.

M. XXII. the viii.
of Marche.

(6)

Cum gratia et Priuilegio
ad imprimendum solum.

To the ryghte ver-

tuous and gracious Lady Katheryn

Douchesse of Suffolk, Thomas

Some, her humble and faith

ful Oratour, wysheth

Godly fauour

and euerla-

fting fal-

uation from God the father

through Iesus Christ our

mercyfull Lorde.



Han man is borne for man, that one to another should be a God, and not a deuyl, an helper, no hynderer, vnto whom alſc ye vſe of the tonge is only geuen, wherby they do both exprefſe and ſhewe the affections of their mindes, there is no man which can ſay, I haue no nede of any man.

But amonges infinite mischiefes and euyls of mans pouertie and anguylsh, by which he hath nede of other mens helpe, is the iſtruction of prudence or vertue and of ſcience. For mankynde in this do pre[ex]cel chiefli brute beaſtes because thei helpe one another by mutual communication.

In learnyng good and vertuous maners, the vſe of commonyng is required chiefly, that men erryng and ignorauente ſhould be taught, for there is none which ſhall euer lerne of hym ſelfe, all thoughe he be neuer ſo happily borne.

Therfore, it ſhal become euery man, which do intende to lyue godly, to here and learme godly bookeſ, to prynte heauenly documentes in their hertes. For as euyll doctrine, deuilyſh bokeſ, and fylthye talke do corrupt good maners, ſo faithful preceptes, godly bookeſ, chaſt commonyng and honest ſhal edifie, and conſirme.

Wherfore, intending to do good vnto al men and namely vnto such, as erre and be ignorant, I haue gathered, writ, and brought into lyght the famous fryday sermons of Mayster Hugh Latimer, which he preached in Lente last past, before oure most noble King Edward the fyxt, at the new Palaice of Westminster, the third yeare of hys reigne. Whiche Sermons (most vertuous Lady) I dedicate vnto your honorable grace, nothyng doubtyng but yat you wyl gladly imbrace them, not onlye because of their excellencie, but chiefly for the profyte whych shall ensue thorough them vnto the ignorante.

For in them are frutefull and godlye documentes, directing ordinatly not only the steps, conuersacyon, and lyuynge of kynges: but also of other mynisters and subiectes vnder him. And let no man be greued though it be not so exactlye done as he did speake it, for in very dede I am not able so to do, to write word for word as he dyd speake, yat passeth my capacyte thoughte I had. xx. mens wittes, and no fewer handes to wryte with all. As it is vnpossyble that a litel ryuer should receiue ye recourse of ye mayne sea with in his brymmes, so yat no water should ouer whelme the fides therof. In lyke manner is it more vnylike my symple witte to comprehend absolutely the abundante eloquence and learnyng which floweth most abundantly out of godly Latymers mouth.

Notwithstandyng, yet had I rather with shamefastnes declare charitably thys parte of his godly documentes. and counsel, then wyth flowthfulnes forget or kepe close folisly, that thyng which may profete many.

Who is that wyl not be glad to heare and beleue the doctrine of godly Latymer? Whome God hath appoynted a prophet, vnto our most noble Kyng, and vnto our Realme of England, to declare the message of the lyuyng God, to supplante and rote out al finnes and vice, to plante and graffe in mens hartes the plenteousnes of al spiritual blissynges in Iesus Chryst our Lorde?

Moses, Ieremyas, Hebias, did neuer declare ye true message of god vnto their rulers and people, wyth a more sincere spirite, faythful mynde and godly zeale, then godlye Latymer doth now in oure daies vnto our most noble Kyng and vnto the whole realme. Fur-
 inij. Kyng xxij thermore, also Iosia receyued neuer the boke of gods wyl at the handes of Helkia the hye prest, or ye admonicion of Hulda ye prophetesse, with a more perfect and godly feare, then our most noble King dothe most faithfully, geue credytye vnto the wordes of good father Latimer. And I haue no doubt but al godly men wil lykewise receiue gladly his godly Sermons and geue credit vnto the same. Therfore this my rude laboure of another mans swet (most vertuous lady) I offer most humbli vnto iour grace, mouid there vnto of godli zeale, thorough the godly fame, that is disperst vnyuersally of your most godly disposition, and vnfayned loue towards the lyuynge, almyghte, eter-
 nall God and hys holye word, practysed dayly both in your graces most vertuous behauour, and also godly charitie towards the edification of euery membre grafted in Chryste Iesu, most humbly desiring your grace to accept fauorably thys my temerous interprise. And I your most humble and faythful Oratour shall praye vnto Iehouah, the God which is of him self, by whom, and in whome, all thyngs lyue, moue, and be, that, that good worke whych he hath begonne in you he may per-
 forme it vnto your last endynge, thorough our Lordie

Iesu Chryst, who preferue and
 kepe your grace now and
 euer. So be it.

¶ The argument of the Sermon.

IN this fryst Sermon is declared, and taught the godlye election of a Kyng, and a rule of godly lyuynge as touchyng hys owne person. Where he proueth oure moost excellent King Edward, to be our most lawful king both by natiuicie, and contry, yea, and now appoynted in these our dayes to delyuer vs from the daunger and captiuitie of Egypt and wicked Pharao, that is from, errorre and ignorance and the deuelishe antichrist the Pope of Rome. The forme of his godly rule also he deuyded here in this sermon in thre partes. Fyrst that he shuld not truse to muche vnto his owne strength and policy, but only to walke ordinatly with God and to make him his lodes man and chief guyde. Secondarily that he lyue not lassyuously and wantonly, folowyng venerial affections, but to lyue chastly. And whan time shal require, to leade a pure lyfe, vnder the yoke of matrimonye, admonishing both his grace, and al other Maiestrates to be circumspecte in choysyng a wyfe, eyther for them selues or for theyr children, hauing this alwaies in minde, that she be, of a faythfull house, godlye broght vp, and of a pure life. Thirdly he admonyshed the kynges grace, that he shold not desyre gold and syluer to muche, prouyng by many argumentes that kynd of vice wyth the other forsaid, to be destruction not only vnto the kynges grace: but also vnto the whole realme and people. In these thinges consyftith the whole summe of this sermon.

[The equivalent passages in the authorized English version, of the Latin quotations of Scripture, are given in the footnotes.]

Of M. Latimer.



*Væcunq[ue] scripta sunt: ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.** What soever Rom. xv. a. thynges are written a fore tyme, are wrytten for our learnynge, that we through pacience and conforte of scripturs, might haue hope. In takynge thys parte of scripture (most nobill audience) I

playe as a trowant, which when he is at schole, wyl chose a lesson, wherin he is perfight, because he is loth to take Payne in studieng a newe leasson, or elles feareth strypes for his slothfulnes. In lyke maner, I might feme now in my olde age to sum men, to take this parte of scripture, because I woulde wade easilie awaye there wyth, and dryue my matter at my pleasure and not to be bounde vnto a certayne theame. But

Paul speketh ye shall confyder, yat the forsayd words of of gods wor- Paul are not to be vnderstande of all de only. scriptures, but only of those, which are of

god, written in goddes boke, and all thynges whiche are therein, are wrytten for our learnynge, The ex[c]el- lencye of thys worde is so greate, and of hye dignitie, that there is no earthly thyng to be compared vnto it

Gen. i. a. and The authour therof is great that is God xvij. a. him selfe, eternal, almighty, euerlastynge.

Deut. iiiij. a. Isa. xxvi. a. The scripture because of hym, is also greate, eternal, moste mightie, and holy.

Prou. viij. c. Daniel viij. c. Ther is no kyng, Emperour, maiestrate, and ruler, of

Al men ought to obey god, to beleue hys word, and to folowe it. what state so euer they be, but are bounde to obey this God, and to geue credence vnto hys holy worde in directynge their steppes ordinatlye accordyng vnto the

same word, yea truly they are not only bound to obey

* Whatsover things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope.—Rom. xv. 4.

gods boke, but also the minister of the same, for the wordes sake, so fer as he speaketh syttinge in moses chayre, that is, if hys doctrine be taken out of Moyses lawe. For in thys world God hath. ii. swerdes the one is a temporal fwerde the other a spiritual, The temporall fwerde resteth in the handes of kynges, maief- trates, and rulers vnder hym, where vnto al subiectes, as wel the Cleargy as the laite be subiect, and punisheable, for anye offence contarye to the same boke.

The spirituall fwerde is in the handes of the ministers and preachers, wher vnto all Kynges, Maiestrates, Rulers oug[h]te to be obediente, that is, to here, and folowe, so longe as the ministers syt in Christes chayre, that is speakynge Math. xxij. out of Christes boke.

The kynge correctyth transgessours wyth the temporall fwerd ye and the preacher also yf he be an offender, But the preacher can not correct the Kynge if he be a transgressor of goddes word, wyth the temporal fwerde But he muste correcte and reprove him wyth the spyrytuall fwerde, fearynge no man, settinge God only before hys eyes, vnder whom he his a minister to supplante and roote vp all vice and myschyef by Goddes worde, where vnto all menne oughte to bee obediente, as is menyoned in many places of scripture, and amonges many thys is one. Math. xxij. a.

*¶ Quocunque iussirint vos seruare, seruare, et facite.**
What so euer they byd you obserue, that obserue and doo Therefore let ye preacher teach, improue, amende, an[d] instructe in rightwesnes, wyth the spyrytuall fwearde, fearynge no man though death shoulde infue Thus Moyses fearynge no man wyth thys fwerde, dyd reprove Kyng Pharao, at Goddes commandement. Exod. v. vi. vii. etc.

Micheas the prophet also dyd not spare to blame King Achab for hys wyckednes, accordyngе ij. Reg. xxij.

* All therefore whamsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do. Matt. xxii. 3.

to goddes wil and to prophesye of his destruction contrary vnto manye false prophetes.* These forsayde kynges beinge admonished by the ministers of gods worde, because they woulde not folow their godly doctryne and correcte their lyues, came vnto vitter Kyng Pharo destruction. Pharaao geuyng no credit punyshed. vnto Moyses the prophet of God, but applyant vnto the lustes of his owne herte, what tyme Exod. xiiij. he hard of the passage of Goddes people, hauyng no feare or remembraunce of gods worke, he did prosecute after entending to destroye them and Acab. was drowned in ye red sea. Kynge iiij. Reg. xxi. Acab also because he wold not herken vnto Micheas was kilde with an arrowe. Likewise iiij. Reg. xliij. also the house of Iereboam with other many, came vnto destruction, because he woulde not heare the ministers of Goddes worde, and correcte hys lyfe accordyng vnto his wyl, and pleasure. Let the

The preacher
must haue
God before
his eyes che-
fy. preacher therefore neuer feare to declare the messegge of God vnto all men. And if the king wyll not heare them then the

preachers may admonyshe and charge them wyth their dewties, and so leaue them vnto God and praye for them. But if the preachers digresse out of Christes chaire, and shal speake their owne phantasyes, then in stede of, *Quocunque iussirent vos*

facere, facite, et seruare. What so euer the[*y*] byd you obserue that obserue and do. Change it into these wordes folowynge: *Cauete vero vobis a pseudo Prophetis* Math. vii. 15. *qui veniunt ad vos etc.*† Be ware of false Prophetes which come vnto you in shipes clothing, but inwardly, they are rauenynge woulfes, ye shall knowe them by their frutes: Yea, change *Quocunque iussirent*, (yf their doctryne be euel) into *Cauete a fer-
Luke. xii. 1. mento phariseorum, etc.*‡ That is: Take

* Ahab.—1 Kings xxii.

† Beware of false prophetes, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.—

Matt. vii. 15.

‡ Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees.—Matt. xvi. 6.

hede and beware of the, leauen of the Phariseis, and of the Saduces. In teaching euel doctrine, all preachers are to be eschewed, and in no wyse to be harkened vnto. In speakyng trueth: thei are to be hard. All thynges wrytten in goddes boke, are moost certayne true, and profitable for all men. For in it, is contayned mete matter for Kynges, Prynces, Rulers, Byshops, and for alle <sup>In gods boke
is matter for
all estats.</sup> states. Wherfore, it behoueth euerye preacher, sum what to appoynt and accomodate hym selfe, and hys matter a greeable vnto the conforte, and amendemente of the audience, vnto the which he declareth the message of God. If he preache before a kyng, let hys matter be concernyng the offyce of a kinge, if before a byshoppe, then lette hym treate of byshoplye dutyes and orders, and so forthe in other matters, as time and audience shal require.

I haue thoughte it good, to intreate vpon these wordes folowynge whyche are wrytten in the. xvii. Chapter of Deuteronomye. *Cum ueneris in terram quam Dominus Deus dat tibi possederisque eam.* Deut. xvii. *et ceter.** That is. Whenthou arte come vnto the Lande whiche the Lorde thy God geueth the, and enioyeste it, and dwelleste therin: If thou shalt say, I wil set a kynge ouer me: lyke vnto al the nacions that are aboue me: Then thou shalt make him kynge ouer the, whome the Lorde thy God shall chose.

One of thy brethren muste thou make Kynge ouer the, and mayste not set a stranger ouer the, whiche is not of thy brethren. But in any wyse, let him not holde to manye horses, that he bringe not the people

* When thou art come unto the land which the Lorde thy God giveth the, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwelle therein, and shalt say, I will set a king ouer me, like as all the nations that are about me:

Thou shalt in any wise set *Adis* king ouer thee, whom the Lorde thy God shall choose: *one* from among thy brethren shalt thou set king ouer thee: thou mayest not set a stranger ouer thee, which is not thy brother.

But he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses: forasmuch as the Lorde hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way.

Neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away: neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold.—Deut. xvii. 14—17.

agayne to Egypt, thorowe the multitude of horses, for as muche as the Lorde hath sayd vnto you: ye shall hence forth go no more agayne that waye. Also he shal not haue to many wyues, leste hys herte turne awaye, neyther shall he gether hym syluer and gould to much. As in dyuerse other places of scripture is mete matter for al estates. So in thys forsayede place is describyd cheyfly the doctryne fyt for a kynge. But who is worthye to vtter thys doctryne before oure mooste noble kynge? Not I God knoweth, whyche am throughe age, boethe weake in body and obliuious, vnapte I am, not only because of paynful study, but also for the short warning. Well vnto God I wyll make my mone, who neuer fayled me. *Auxiliator in necessitatibus.**

God is my helper in all my necessities. To hym alone wyl I make my peticion. To praye vnto saynites departed I am not taught, to desyre like grace of god as they had (right godly it is) or to beleue God to be no lesse mercyfull vnto vs (beinge faythful) then he was vnto them, greatlye comfortable it is. Therfore only vnto God let vs lyfte vp our hertes and say the Lordes prayer.

Thynges tou-
ched mooste
chiefly in the
hole sermon.



um veneris, etc.† When thou art come vnto ye land which the lord. etc. Thou shalt appoint him king. etc. One of thi brethren must thou make

king ouer the, and must not set a straunger ouer ye which is not of thy brethren.

ii. But in any wyse let not suche one prepare vnto him selfe many horses that he bryng not. etc.

iii. Furthermore let hym not prepare vnto hym selfe manye wyues, least his herte recede frome God.

iii. Nor he shal not multiply vnto hym selfe, to much golde, and syluer. As the text doeth ryse, I wyl touche and go a lyttle in euery place, vntyl I come

* God is mine helper.—Ps. lxx. 4.

† See text on previous page.

vnto to much. I wyl touche al the forsayd thynges, but not to muche. The texte is, when thou shalt come into the land. etc.

To haue a kyng the Israelites dyd wyth muche importunitye call vnto God, and God longe before promised theim a kynge and were full certified thereof, that God hadde promised that thynge. For vnto Abraham he sayed: *Ego crescere tefaciam vehementer ponamque te in gentes, sed et reges ex te prodibunt.** Gen. xvii. 2.

That is, I wil multipli the exceedingly, and wil make nations of the, yea and kings shal spring out of the. These wordes were spoken long before the chyldren of Israel had any king, Notwithstandyng, yet God prescrybid vnto them an order, howe the[y] shulde chose their kyng, and what manner a man he shoulde be, where he faith: whan thou shalt come in to the lande, etc. As who should say. O ye children of Israel I knowe your nature ryght well, whiche is euyl, and inclined vnto al euyls. I know that thou wilt chose a kyng to raygne ouer the and to apere glorious in the face of the world, after the manner of gentyles, But because thou art stiffe necked, wilde, and art geuen to walke without a brydell, and lyne. Therfore now I wyll preuente thy euyl and bestly manners I will hedge strongly thy waye, I wyll make a durable lawe, whyche shal compell the to walke ordinatlye, and in a plain way, that is thou shalt not chose the a kynge after thy wyll and fantayse but after me thy Lord and God. Thus, god condycioned wyth the Iewes, that theyr king should be suche a one as he hym self wold chose them And was not much vnlyke [t]he bargayne that I A notable fa-
herd of late shulde be betwixte two fryndes ble.
for a horffe, the owner promyfed the other shuld haue the horffe yf he wold, the other axed ye price, he sayed: xx. nobles The other wold geue hym but iiiii. pound: ye owner said he shuld not haue hym then, The other claymed the horffe bycause he sayd, he

* I will make thee exceeding fruit- and kings shall come out of thee.—
ful, and I will make nations of thee; Gen. xvii. 6.

shoulde haue hym if he wold, Thus thys bargayne became a westminster matter, the lawyers gote twyse the value of the horse, and when all came to all, two fooles made an ende of the matter. Howbeit, the Israelites coulde not go to lawe wyth God, for chosynge theyr kynge, for would they, nyl they, theyr kinge shold be of his chosynge, lest they shold walke inordinatly, in a deceyuable way, vnto theyr vtter losse and destruction. For as they say commonely *Qui vadit*

A comon sayinge. plane, vadit fane. that is. He that walketh playnly, walketh safely. As the Iewes were stynnecked, and were euer ready to walke inordinately, no lesse are we Englyshe men geuen to vntowardnes, and inordinate walkynge after oure owne fantasies and braynes. We wyll walke wythoute the limites of Goddes worde, we wyll chose a kyng at our owne pleasure.

i. Reg. xix. a. But let vs learne to frame our lyues after the noble king Dauid whych when he had manye occasions, geuen of kyng Saul to worke euyl, for euyl, yea, and hauynge manye tymes oportunity to per-

i. Reg. xxiiij. a. fourme mischief and to slay king Saul. Red ye stories they be verye pleasaunt and profitable. Neuerthelesse yet fearyng, would not folowe hys fleshly affections and walke inordinately, wythoute the wyll of Godis

orde, whych he confessed alwayes to be hys direction, sayinge. *Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum et lumen semitis meis.** Thy worde, O

Paal. cxviiiij. v. Gods worde is oure lyght. Lorde is a Lanterne vnto my feete, and a

lyght vnto my steppes. Thus hauynge in mynde, to walke ordinatly he did alwaies auoyde to do euyll. For whan kyng Saul was in a caue without anye man. Dauid and hys men sytting by the sydes of the caue, yea and Dauids men mouyng hym to kyl Saul, Dauid made answere and sayd vnto them: *Dauid dyd walke ordynatly.*

Seruet me dominus, ne rem iustum. etc. contra dominum meum Meum etc.† That is The Lord kepe

* Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path.—Psa. cxix 105

† The Lord forbid that I should do this thing unto my master, the Lord's anointed.—: Sam. xxvii. 6.

me from dbyng this thing vnto my maister yat is the lordes anointed. At another tyme also, moued by Abi-say to kyl Saul sleping, Dauid said : *Ne interficias eum, quis enim impune manum suum inferret* 1. Reg. xxvi. b. *vncto domino etc.** That is : Destroye hym not, for who can laye hys handes on the Lordes anoynted and be gyltlesse. etc. I wold God we wolde folowe King Dauid, and then we shuld walke ordinatly, and yet do but yat we are bounde of dutye to do, for God sayth : *Quod ego pricipio, hoc tantum facito.*†

That thing which I commande that only do. There is a greate errore risen now a daies among many of vs, which are vayne and new fangled men clymbyng beyond the lymites of our capacitye and wytte, in wrenching thys text of scrypture, hereafter folowyng, after their owne phantasie and brayne, their errore is vpon this text : *Audi vocem populi in omnibus qua* 1. Reg. viii. *dicunt tibi, non enim te reprobant sed me reprobarent ne regnum super eos.*‡

That is : Heare the voyce of the people in all that they say vnto the, for they haue not caste the a way but me. Thei wrench these wordes a wrye after their owne fantasies, and make much doubte as touchynge a kynge, and hys Godlye name. They that so do walketh inordinatly, they walk not directely and playnly, but delite in balkes, and stubble way.

It maketh no matter by what name the rulers be named, if so be they shall walke ordinatly with god, and derect their steps with god. For both patriarkes Judges, and kynges, had, and haue their authorytie of God, and therfore Godli. But this ought to be considered which God saith. *Non præficere tibi potest hominem alienum.*§ that is. Thou must not set a straunger ouer the.

* Destroy him not: for who can stretch forth his hand against the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless?—1 Sam. xxvi. 9.

+ What thing soever I command you, observe to do it.—Deut. xii. 32.

God calleth his ministers by dyuerso names.

† Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.—1 Sam. viii. 7.

§ Deut. xvii. 15: see text at p. 25.

Kyng Edwa.
ye vi. is our na-
turall kynge
and a most pre-
cious treasure.

It hath pleased God to graunt vs a naturall liege kynge and Lorde, of oure owne nation an Englysh man, one of our owne religion. God hath geuen hym vnto vs, and is a mooste precious treasure, and yet mani of vs do desyre a straunger to be kynge ouer vs. Let vs no more desyre to be bankers, but lett vs endeuoure to walke ordinateleye and plainlye, after the word of God. Let vs folow Daniel, let vs not feke the death of oure mooste noble and ryghtfull Kynge, oure owne brother, boeth by natuyty, and for hys lyfe. Godly relygion. Let vs pray for hys good state, that he may lyue long among vs.

Oh what a plague were it, that a straunge kinge of a straunge land, and of a straung religion should raygne ouer vs. Where nowe we be gouerned in the true relygion, he should extirpe and plucke away all to gether, and then plante agayn all abomynacyon, and popery, GOD kepe fuche a kynge from vs. Well the kynges grace hath fysters, my Ladye Mary, and my Lady Elizabeth, whych by succession and course are inheritours to the crowne. Who yf they shulde mary with straungers, what should ensue GOD knoweth. But god graunt they neuer come vnto courfyng nor succedyng. Therfore to auoyd thys plague, let vs amende oure lyues and put awaye all pryde, whyche dothe drowne men in thys realme at these dayes, all couetousnes where in the magistrates and ryche men of thys realme are ouerwhelmed, all lechery and other excessyue vyses, prouokynge gods wrath, were he not merciful, euen to take from vs oure naturall kynge and leyge Lorde, yea, and to plage vs wyth a straunge kynge for oure loue God or the kyng wyl amende theyr sinful lyuing. vnrepentaunte herte. Wherfore (yf as ye faye) ye loue the kynge, amende your lyues, and then ye shalbe a meane that GOD shall lende hym vs longe to raygne ouer vs, for vndowtedlye synnes prouoke muche goddes wrath scripture saith: *Dabo tibi regem in furore meo,**

* I gave thee a king in mine anger.—Hos. xiii. 22.

That is: I wyll geue a kynge in my wrathe. Now we haue a lawfull kyng, a godly kynge, neuertheles yet many euyls do raygne. Longe tyme the mynisters appoynted, hath studied to amende, and redres al euyles, long time before thys greate laboure hathe bene about this matter, great crakes hath bene made that al shoulde be well. But when all came to all for theyr bofes, lyttle or nothyng was done, in whome these words of Horace mai wel be veri- *Horacius* fied sayinge. *Parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus.* The mountaines swelleth vp, the pore mouse is brought out, long before thys tyme, many hath taken in hande to bryng manye thynges vnto paste, but finally theyr worckes came vnto small effect and profyte. Now I here say all thinges are ended after a Godly maner, or els shortelye shall be. Make hast, make hast, and let vs learne to conuerte, to repente, and amende our lyues. If we do not, I feare, I feare, lest for our synnes and vnthankefulnes, an Hipocrit shal raigne ouer vs. Long we haue bene seruantes and in bondage, seruyng the pope in Egypte. God hath geuen vs a deliueringer, a natural kynge. Let vs seke no stranger of another nacion, no hypocrite whiche shall bryng in agayne al papistrie, hipocracie, and Idolatrie. No diabolicall minister whyche shall mayntayne all deuelishe worckes and euyll exercises. But let vs pray that God mayntayne and continue oure most excellente kynge here prefente, true inheritor of thys our realme, both by natyuytye, and also by the special gift and ordinaunce of God. He doth vs rectify in the libertie of the gospel, in that therefore let vs stand. *State ergo in libertate, qua Christus nos liberavit.** Stande ye in the libertye, wherwyth Chryste hath made vs free. In Chrystes libertye,

* Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. —Gal. v. 1.

The pope
hath longe
aigned.

God hath
sente vs a de-
lyuerer.

Let vs no
more seke to
serue a straun-
ger.

Let vs pray
for our king.

we shall stande, If we so lyue that we profyte. If we cast away all euyl, fraude, and deceytle, with such other vices, contrary to Gods word. And in so doing we shal not onely prolonge and mayntayne our most noble kynges dayes in prosperitie: but also we shal prosper our owne lyues, to lyue not onelye prosperously, but also godly.

The seconde
parte of hys
sermon

In any wyse, let no suche a wone pre-
pare vnto him self manye horsses. etc. In
speakyng these wordes, ye shal vnder-
stand, that I do not entend to speake agaynst the
strengthe, polysye, and prouision of a kyng, but agaynst
excesse, and vayne trusste that kynges haue in them
selues, more then in the liuing god the authour of al
goodnes, and geuer of all victory. Many horsses are
requisite for a king, but he maye not excede in them,
nor triumphe in them, more then is nedeful, for the
necessary affayres and defence of the realme: what
meaneth it, that god hath to do wyth the kynges
stable? But only he would be mayster of hys horsses,
the Scripture sayeth, *In altis habitat*. He dwelleth on
Psal. cxij. *hye, it foloweth. Humilia respicit.** He
God is grand loketh on lowe thynges, yea, vpon the
mayster in ye Kynges stables. and vpon al the offyces in
kynges house hys house. God is great grand mayster of
the Kynges house, and wil take accoumpt of euery one
that beareth rule therin, for the executing of their offices,
Whether they haue iustly and truely serued the kyng in
their offices or no. Yea god loketh vpon the kynge hym
selfe, if he worketh well or not. Euery kyng is subiecte
vnto God, and all other men are subiectes vnto ye
king. In a king god requireth faith, not excess of
horsses. Horsses for a kyng be good and necessarye,
if thei be wel vsed. But horsses are not to be pre-
ferred aboue pore men. I was ones offendid with the
kynges horses, and therfore toke occasion to speake
in the presens of the kynges maiestye that dead is,

* Though the Lord be high, yet hath he respect unto the lowly.—
Psa. cxxxviii. 4.

whan Abbeis stode. Abbeis were ordeyned for the conforte of the pore, Wherfore I sayde it was not decent that the kings horsses shuld be kept in them (as manye were at that tyme) the lyuynge of poore men therby minished and taken a way: But after ward a certayne noble man sayd to me, what hast thou to do with ye kinges horsses? I answered, and sayd, I speake my conscience as goddes word directeth me. He said horsses be ye mayntenaunces and parte of a kynges honoure, and also of hys realme, wherefore in speakyng againte them ye are againt the kynges honoure. I answered. God teacheth what honoure is decente for the kynge and for al other men accordyng vnto their vocations. God apoynteth euery king a sufficient lyuinge for hys state and degré boeth by landes and other customes. And it is lawfull for euery kyng to enjoye the same goodes and possessyons. But to extorte and take awaye the ryghte of the poore, is agaynst the honoure of the kinge. And you do moue the kinge to do after that manner, then you speake agaynst the honoure of the kynge. For I ful certifie you, extorcioners, violent opresfers, in grossers of tenamentes and landes, throughé whose couetousnes, villages decaye and fall downe, the kinges leige people for lacke of sustinaunce are famished and decayed. They be those whyche speke a gainst the honour of the kynge. God requireth in the king and al magistrates a good herte, to walke directlye in hys wayes. And in all subiectes, an obedience dewe vnto a kynge. Therefore I pray god both the king and alio we his people maye endeuer diligen[t]ly to walke in his wayes, to hys greate honoure and our profite. Let hym not prepare vnto him selfe to many wyues. etc. Al though we reade heare that the kinges amongst the Iewes, had libertye to take more wyues then one, we maye not therfore atempte to walke in ordinatly

Kinges of the
Iewes had a
dispensacion
to haue mo
wyues then
one.

and to thinke that we may take also many
wiues.

For Christe hath for byden thys vnto
vs Christians. And lette vs not impute
synne vnto the Iewes because they hadde many
wyues. For they hadde a dispensation so to do.
Christe limiteth on wyfe vnto vs only. And it is a
greate thynge for a man to rule one wyfe ryghtly, and
ordinatly. For a woman is frayll and proclive vnto
all euels, a woman is a very weake vessel, and maye
sone deceyue a man, and bryng hym vnto euell. Many
examples we haue in holy scripture. Adam had but

<sup>One wyfe is
hard to be wel
ruled.</sup> one wyfe, called Eue, and howe sone had
she brought hym to consent vnto euell,
and to come to destruction, How dyd
wycked Iesabell preuente kynge Hachabs herte from
god and al godlines, and finally vnto destruction. It
is a very hard thynge for a man to rule wel one wo-

<sup>A godly wo-
man is to be
chosen.</sup> man. Therfore let oure kynge, what
tyme hys grace shalbe so mynded to take
a wyfe to chose hym one whiche is of god,
that is, whyche is of the houshalde of fayth. Yea let
all estates be no lesse circumspect in chosynge her,
takynge great deliberation, and then shal not need
dyuorfementes, and such myscheues to the euel exam-
ple and sclauder of our realm, And that she be one

<sup>Loue whych
is godly is to
be preferred
aboue al earthly
things in
marryage.</sup> as the kyng can fynd in hys hert to loue
and leade hys life in pure and chaste
esposage, and then shall he be the more
prone and redy to aduance gods glorye,
punishe, and extirpe, the great lecherye-
ved in this realme. Therefore we ought to make a
continuall prayer vnto god, for to graunt oure kynges
grace suche a mate as maye knyt hys hert and heres,
accordyng to goddes ordynaunce and lawe, and not
to consider and cleaue onely to a politike matter or
coniunction, for the enlargyng of dominions, for fuer-
tyme and defence of contres, settynge apart the institu-
tion and ordynaunce of God. We haue nowe a pret-

litle shilling, in dede a very pretye one. I haue but one I think in my purffe, and the lafte daye Notable say-
I had put it awaye almoste for an olde ^{ing.} grote, and so I truste some wyll take them. The fynes of the siluer I can not se. But therin is prynted a fyne sentence: that is. *Timor Domini fons vitae vel sapientiae.** The feare of Prover. xvi. the Lorde is the fountayne of lyfe or Wyfdom. I wolde god this sentence were alwaies printed in the herte of the kyng in chosynge hys ^{The well of} wyfe, and in al hys officers. For lyke as ^{life or wisdom.} the feare of God is *fons sapientiae* or *vite*, so the forgetting of god is *fons stulticie* the fontayne of folishnes or of death, althoughe it be ^{Polisi if it be} neuer so politike, for vpon such politike ^{not of God} bryngeth matters death doth ensue and folowe. All ^{death.} their deuorcementes and other lyke condicione to the greate displeasure of all myghtye God, whiche euylles I feare me, is much vsed at these daies in the mariage of noble mens children, for io[i]ning landes to landes, possessions, to possessions, neither the vertuous education, nor liuinge being regarded, but in the infancy such mariages be made, to the displeasuer of god and breach of espousals. Let the king therfor chose vnto him a godly wyfe, wherby he shal the better liue chast, and in so liuyng all godlines shal encrease and ryghtewesnes be maynteyned. Notwith-
standingyng, I knowe here after, some wyll come and moue your grace towardes wantonnes and to the inclinacyon of the fleshe and vayne affections. But I would your grace should beare in me-
morye, an hystorye of a good king called <sup>A notable hi-
storie of a</sup> Lewes, that trauelled towardes the holye ^{frensh kyng.} lande (whiche was a greate matter in those dayes) and by the waye syckyned, beyng longe absente from hys wyfe. And vpon thys matter the phisi-
tians dyd agre, yat it was for lacke of a ^{The good} counsell of woman. And dyd consulte with the ^{Byshops.}

* The fear of the LORd is a fountain of life.—Prov. xiv. 27.

bishops therein, who dyd conclude that because of the distance of hys wyfe (beyng in an other contrye) he should take a wenche. Thys good kyng hering their conclusion would not assent there vnto, but sayde, he had rather be sycke euen vnto death then he wold breake his espousals. Wo worth such consellers, bishops, nay rather buffardes. Neuertheles if the king shoulde haue consented to their conclusyon, and accomplished the same, yf he had not chansed well, they wolde haue executed the matter as I haue harde of two yat haue consulted together, and according to the aduyse of his friend the one of them wrought where the succession was not good.

The other imputed a pese of reproche to hym for hys such counsell geuen. He excused the matter sayeinge: that he gaue hym none other counsel, but if it had byne hys cause he woulde haue done likewise. So I thinke the bishops wolde haue excused the matter, yf the king should haue reproched them for their counsell. I do not

Note. rede that the King did rebuke them for their counsell, but yf he had, I knowe what woulde haue ben their aunswere. They would haue sayde, we geue you noworssse counsell, then we wolde haue folowed oure selues, yf we had ben in like case. Wel sir, thys Kyng

The kyng dyd wel, and had the feare of god before *fearynge god* hys eyes. He wold not walke in by-*auyded euel* walkes, where are many balkes. Amongest many balkinges, is much stumbling and by stumbling it chaunceth many tymes to fal downe to the ground. And therfore, let vs not take any biwalkes, but let gods word directe vs, let vs not walke after, nor leane to our owne iudgementes and procedynges of oure forfathers, nor feke not what they dyd, but what th[e]y shoulde haue done, of which thynge scryp-*Deut. xii. a.* ture admonysheth vs saying: *Ne inclinemus praeceptis et traditionibus patrum neque faciamus quod videtur rectum in oculis nostris.**

* Walk ye not in the statutes of that we do here this day, every man your fathers.—Ezek. xx. 18. whatsoever is right in his own eyes. Ye shall not do after all the things.—Deut. xii. 8.

Let vs not inclyne our felues vnto the preceptes and tradycyons of oure fathers, nor let vs do that semeth ryght in our eyes. But fuerlye, we wyll not exchange oure fathers doynges and tradicions, with scripture, but cheifely lene vnto them and to theyr prescription, and do that semeth good in oure owne eyes. But fuerly that is goynge downe the ladder, Scala cæli as it was made by the Pope came to be a Maffe, but that is a false ladder to bringe men to heauen. The true ladder to bryng a man to heauen is the knowledge and folowynge of scripture. Let the kyng therfore chose a wyfe whych feareth god, let hym not seke a proude, wanton and one ful of rich trea- The. iij parte of the sermon fures and worldelye pompe. He shall not multyple vnto hym selfe to muche gold and siluer. Is ther to muche thynke you for a kynge? God doeth alowe muche, vnto a kynge, and it is expediente that he should haue muche, for he hath great A kyng may haue muche, for his expences are great. expences, and many occasions to spende muche for the defence and suertie of hys realme and subiectes.

And necessary it is that a kyng haue a treasure all wayeys in a redines, for that, and such other affayres, as be dayly in hys handes. The which treasure, if it be not sufficiente, he maye lawfully and wyth a salue conscience, take taxes of hys subiectes. For it were not mete, the treasure, shoulde be in the subiectes purses whan the money shoulde be occupied, nor it were not best for themselues, for the lacke there of, it myght cause both it, and all the rest that they haue shold not long be theirs, And so for a necessarye and expedyent occacion, it is warranted by goddes word Note whan to take of the subiectes. But if there be sufficiente treasures, and the burdenyng of subiectes be for a vayne thyng. so yat he wyl require thus much, or so much of his subiects, whyche perchaunce are in great necessitie, and penurye. Then this couetous intent, and the request thereof, is to muche, whych god forbiddeth the king her in this Note whan the king hath to muche of hys commens.

Who shall se
thys to much
None that be
seruantes to
the Kynge.

of fauer.

Shall any of his sworne chapelins? No.

Thei bee of the clauſſet and kepe close ſuch matters.

Corporal eyes
can not ſe to
much.

haue a paier of ſpectacles, whiche ſhall haue two cleare

Spirytuall
eyes are to be
had, fayeth
charytye.

ſyghtes in them, yat is, ye one is fayth,
not a ſeaſonable fayeth, which ſhall laſte
but a whyle, but a fayeth, whiche is con-

tinuyng in God. The feconde cleare fighte is charitie,
whych is feruente towardes hys Chryſten brother. By
them two, muſt the Kynge ſe euer whan he hath to
muſche. But fewe therbe that vſeth theſe ſpectacles,
the more is theyr dampnacion, Not wythouſte cauſe
Chrisoſtome wyth admiracion fayeth.

Chrysostoms
ſayinge.

The vnder-
ſtandynge of
yt.

that their charge is maruelous great, and that none
aboute them dare ſhew them the truſt of the thing

If God wyl
not graunta
to much vnto
a kyng much
leſſe vnto the
ſubiecte.

Who is not
fauſt in ta-
king to much
learne.

Physicions
Lawiers.
Marchantes

counſell, expedicion, nor helpe in his matter, except
he geue him to much. At marchandes handes, no
kynd of wares can be had, except we geue for it to
Landlordes muche. You landelordes, you rentraſſers,

place of scripture to haue. But who ſhal
ſe this to much, or tell ye king of this to
much. Thinke you anye of the Kyngeſ
preuye chamber? No. For feare of loſſe

Shall any of his ſworne chapelins? No.

But the Kynge him ſelfe muſt ſe this to

much, and yat ſhal he do by no meaneſ
with the corporal eyes: Wherfore, he muſt

haue a paier of ſpectacles, whiche ſhall haue two cleare

ſyghtes in them, yat is, ye one is fayth,
not a ſeaſonable fayeth, which ſhall laſte
but a whyle, but a fayeth, whiche is con-

tinuyng in God. The feconde cleare fighte is charitie,
whych is feruente towardes hys Chryſten brother. By

them two, muſt the Kynge ſe euer whan he hath to
muſche. But fewe therbe that vſeth theſe ſpectacles,
the more is theyr dampnacion, Not wythouſte cauſe
Chrisoſtome wyth admiracion fayeth.

Miror si aliquis reſtorum poſet ſaluaſi.

I maruell if anye ruler can be fauſed.

Whyche wordes he ſpeaketh not of an im-
poſſibilitie, but of a great difficultie For

that their charge is maruelous great, and that none
aboute them dare ſhew them the truſt of the thing

how it goth. Wel: then, if God wyl not
alowe a king to much. Whither wyl he
alowe a ſubiect to much? no, yat he wil

not. Whether haue any man here in Eng-
land to much? I doubtē moſt riche man

haue to muſche, for wythout to muſche, we
can get nothynge. As for example. The

Phifition. If the pore man be dyſeaſed,
he can haue no helpe without to much?

and of ye lawier, the pore man can get no
counſell, expedicion, nor helpe in his matter, except

he geue him to much. At marchandes handes, no
kynd of wares can be had, except we geue for it to

I maye faye you steplordes, you vnnaturall Rentraysers
lordes, you haue for your posseßions yerely steplordes.
to much. For that herebefore went for. xx. Vnnatural
Lordes.

or. xl. pound by yere, (which is an honest porcion to be had gratis in one Lordesthyp, of a nother mannes sweat and laboure) now is it let for. l. [fifty] or a. C. [hundred] pound by yeare. Of thys to muche commeth Of thys to
thys monſterous and portentious dearth- muche com-
is made by man, not with standyng God mith all dear-
doeth fende vs plentifullye the fruited of the earth, this and scarcitie
mercyfullye, contrarye vnto oure desertes, Not wyth- standyng to muche, whyche theſe riche menne haue,
cauſeth ſuche dearth, that poore menne (whyche liue
of theyr laboure) can not wyth the ſweate of their
face haue a liuinge, all kinde of viſtales is fo deare,
pigges, geſe, capons, chickens, egges. etc.

These thinges with other are fo vñre- Note the co-
ſonably enhanfed. And I thinke verely, uetous men.
that if it this continewe, we ſhal at length: be con-
ſtrayned to paye for a pygge a pounde. I wyl tel you
my lordes and mayſters, thys is not for the kynges honoure, Yet ſome wyl faye, This to much
knoweſt thou what belongeth vnto the is not for the kynges honoure.
kynges honoure better then we? I anſwere, that the true honoure of a Kinge, is mooſt perfectly mentioned
and painted furth in the ſcriptures, of which, if ye be ignoraunt, for lacke of tyme yat ye cannot reade it,
albeit, that your counſaile be neuer fo politike, yet is it not for the kynges honoure. What his honoure
meaneth ye canot tel. It is the kynges honoure yat his ſubiectes bee led in the true religion. That all hys prelates and Cleargie be ſet about their worcke in preaching and ſtudieng, and not to be in- terrupted from their charge. Also it is ye Kinges honour that the commen wealth be au- a wealthy
aunſed, that the dearth of theſe forſaiied comminaltie.
thynges be prouided for, and the commodities of thys Realme fo emploied, as it may be to the ſetting his

A description
of the kynges
honour

Fyrſte in true
religion.

subiectes on worke, and kepyng them from idlenes. And herin resteth the kinges honour and hys office, So doyng, his accompte before God shalbe alowed, and rewarded. Furder more, if the kinges honour (as sum men

Thyrdly the
kynges ho-
nnure stan-
deth in the
multitude of
people.

say) standeth in the great multitude of people. Then these grafiers, inclosers, and rente-rearers, are hinderers of the kings honour. For wher as haue bene a great meany of householders and inhabitauntes, ther is nowe but a shepherd and his dogge, so thei hynder the kinges honour most of al. My lordes and maisters,

I say also, that all fuche procedynges which are

Thys to
much wyl
make yoman-
ry slauery, and
the shauery,
clargy.

agaynst the Kynge honoure (as I haue a part declared before) and as far as I can perceiue, do intend plainly, to make the yomanry slauery and the Cleargye shauery.

For sucheworckes are al syngular, priuate welth and commoditye. We of the cleargye had to much, but that is

Clargy had
to muche, but
nowe to lytle.

taken away. and nowe we haue to little. But for myne owne part, I haue no cause to

complaine, for I thanke God and the kyng. I haue sufficient, and God is my iudge I came not to craue of anye man, any thynge, but I knowe theim that haue to litle. There lyeth a greate matter by these

An example
of the clargy.

appropriacions, greate reformacions is to be had in them. I knowe wher is a great market Towne with diuers hamelets and inhabitauntes, wher do rise yereli of their labours to the value of. l. [fifty] pounde, and the vicar that serueth (being so great a cure) hath but. xii. or. xiii. markes by yere, so that of thys pension he is not able to by him bokes, nor geue hys neyghboure dryncke, al the great gaine goeth

An example
of yemanry.

another way. My father was a Yoman, and had no landes of his owne, onlye he had a farme of. iii. or. iiiii. pound by yere at the vttermost, and here vpon he tilled so much as kepte halfe a dozen men. He had walke for a hundred shepe, and my mother mylked. xxx. kyne, He was able and did find the king a harnesse, wyth hym selfe, and hys

horsse, whyle he came to ye place that he should receyue the kynges wages. I can remembre, yat I buckled hys harnes, when he went vnto Blache heeath felde. He kept me to schole, or elles I had not bene able to haue preached before the kinges maiestie nowe. He maryed my systers with v. pounde or. xx. nobles a pece, so that he broughte them vp in godlines, and feare of God.

He kept hospitalitie for his pore neighbours. And sum almesse he gaue to the poore, and all thys did he of the sayd farme. Wher he that now hath it, paieth. xvi. pounde by yere or more, and is not able to do any thing for his Prynce, for himselfe, nor for his children, or geue a cup of drincke to the pore. Thus al the enhansinge and rearing goth to your priuate commoditie and wealth. So that where ye had a single to much, you haue that: and syns the same, ye haue enhanfed the rente, and so haue encreased an other to much. So now ye haue doble to muche, whyche is to to much. But let the preacher preach til his tong be worne to the stompes, nothing is amended. We haue good statutes made for the commen welth as touching comeners, enclofers, many metinges and Sessions, but in the end of the matter their commeth nothing forth. Wel, well, thys is one thynge I wyll faye vnto you, from whens it commeth I knowe, euen, from the deuill. I knowe his intent in it. For if ye bryng it to passe, that the yo manry be not able to put their sonnes to schole (as in dede vniuersities do wonderously decaye all redy) and that they be not able to mary their daughters to the auoidyng of whoredome, I say ye plucke saluation from the people and vtterly distroy the realme. For by yomans sonnes, the fayth of Christ is, and hath bene mayntained chefely. Is this realme taught by rich mens sonnes, No no, reade

No preaching
can haalpe
thys euell.

Many statu-
tes but smale
helpe.

The deuell is
the auctoure
of to muche.

To decaye of
learnyng
and puritie of
lyfe.

Saluacion
resteth in them.

Yomens son-
nes be tea-
chers of god

the Cronicles ye shall fynde sumtime noble mennes sonnes, which haue bene vnpreaching byshoppes and ^{A notable} prelates, but ye, shall finde none of them thyng. learned men. But verilye, they that shoulde loke to the redresse of these thinges, be the greatest against them. In thys realme are a great meany of folkes, and amongst many, I knowe but one of tender zeale. at the mocion of his poore tennauntes, hath let downe his landes to the olde rentes for their relief. For goddes loue, let not him be a Phenix, let him not be alone, Let hym not be an Hermite closed in a wall, sum good man follow him and do as he

^{Surueiers} ^{be handma-} geueth example. Surueiers there be, yat gredyly gorge vp their couetouse, guttes ^{kers.} hande makers, I meane (honest men I touch not) but al suche as suruei thei make vp their mouthes but the commens be vtterlye vndone by them.

^{The crye of} ^{the poore.} Whose bitter cry ascendingyng vp to the eares of the god of Sabaoth, the gredy pyt of hel burning fire (without great repentaunce) do tary and loke for them. A redresse God graunt. For fuerly, fuerly, but yat ii. thynges do comfort me I wold despaire of the redresse in these maters. One is, that the kinges maiestie whan he commeth to age: wyll se a redresse of these thinges so out of frame. Geuing example by letting doune his owne landes first and then enioyne hys subiectes to folowe him. The second hope I haue is, I beleue that the general accomptyng daye is at hande, the dreadfull day of iudgement I meane, whiche shall make an end of al these calamities and miseries. For as the scryptures be

Cum dixerint pax pax, When they shal say peace, peace: Omnia tuta, all thynges are sure: Then is the day at hand, a mery day I saye, for al such as do in this worlde studye to serue and please god and continue in his fayth, feare and loue: and a dreadful, horrible day for them that decline from God walking in ther owne wayes, to whom as it is wrytten in the. xxv of*

* Saying, Peace, peace: when ther is no peace.—Jes. vi. 14.

Mathew is sayd : *Ite maledicti in ignem eternum.** Go ye cursed into euerlastynge punyshment. Wher shalbe waylinge and gnashing of teeth. But vnto ye other he shal faye : *Venite benedicti.*† come ye blessed chyldren of my father, posseſſe ye the kyngdome prepared for you from the begin-
ninge of the worlde, of
the which god ma-
ke vs al parta-
kers.
Amen.

* Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire.—Matt. xxv. 41.

† Come, ye blessed of my Father.—ver. 34.

Imprinted at
London by Iohn Day
dwellinge at Aldersgate, and
Wylliam Seres, dwellinge in Peter
Colledge. These booke are to be
sold at the new shop by the
lytle Condupte in
Chepespyde.

• Cum gratia et Privilegio ab
imprimendum solu.

The seconde
Sermon of Master
Hughe Latemer,
whych he prea-
ched before the
Kynges ma-
iestie, within
hys grac-
ces Palayre at
Westminster
ye. xvi day of
Marche.
Anno. MCCCC. xliiij.

Cum gratia et priuilegio ad
imprimendum solum.

To the Reader.



Ven as in tymes past, al men whych were honestly bent to the promotinge of vertue and learnyng, found meanes, that the workes of worthye oratours, of famous and renoumed Philosophers, shold be by ye benefit, of publyshing redemed from the tyranny of obliuion to the great and hygh profyte of countryes, of common wealthes, of empyres, and of assemblies of men: lykewyse oughte we to fetche our presydente from those men, and suffre no worthi monument to perish, wherby any good may grow, either to the more godly admynistration of poltyke and cyuyl affayres, or elles to the better establyshyng of christian iudgement. Numa Pompilus, who was inaugured and created king [of] the Romaynes next after Romulus, was far more careful and busier in groundyng of Idolatrus religion, as vpon rytes, ceremonies, sacrifices and supersticions, then we are in promotyng of christian religion, to the aduauncement of the glorye, due, to the omnipotent maiestie of God hymselfe, who hath reuealed and vttered hys worde vnto vs by hys Prophetes, and last of all, by hys onely begotten sonne Iefus Christ wherby he hath confyrméd our consciences in a more perfect certentie of the truth, then euer they were before. This Numa instituted an Archbyshop for the preferuyng of the Commentaries, contaynyng the solemnities of their religion wyth manye other appendixes, vntited to the office of the high bishoppe. What do we? We haue suppressed. We haue wraftled with fyre, and fword, not onely to deface the wrytynges of such learned men as haue paynefullly traueiled to publysh Gods word: but also we haue sturred euery stone, and fought al deuelish deuises, to detaine yat same word of god it selfe from his people.

May not we (and not vnwortheli) be accompted far vnder ye Ethenickes, who wrought onely by naturall mocion and anticipations, wythout breathyng and inspiryng of the holy gost, if we woulde not (I meane not be equall wyth them) but be farre more zelous in promotyng good learnyng and religion then euer thei were. Thei, when thei had suche noble and worthy clearkes (as Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle) with al diligence, caufed ye fruities of those most rare and profound wyttes, to be preserued for their posteritie, that the eyes of al generations myght enioye the fruicion and vse of them, thinking that such wonderful vertues shuld not be buried in the same graue that theyr bodyes were. After so manifold and daungerous shyp wrackes of religion, as in oure tymes we may well remember, wheras the ambitious and blynde prelates (some of wyly wilfulnes, some of grofe ignorauunce) ruleth the sterne and euermore blemished the true knowledge of Goddes worde, and dyd theyr indeuoure to obscure the same wyth their politycke and decente ceremonies, and trompery of superfticions, how oft hath religion bene tost on the stormy sourgis and daungerous rockes of the Romyſhe feas? Howe oft hath it bene in such a desperate state, that the true mynysters haue bene inforſed (as you woulde say) to hoyſe vp ancker (the tackling of the shyp beyng broken) and destytute of all other helpe and succoures, to geue ouer the rulyng of the shyppe to God hymſelfe, who is only able to faue, when al the world by mannes reaſon iudgeth it past cure. Such O Lorde is thy mercie and ineffable power, what cristen hert yat fauoureth the glory of God, did not euen lament and bewaile the state of religion, and thought verely the vitter ruine of Christes church to be at hand, ſeing the late martyrdome of those that ſuffered? Yet didest thou lord ſturre vp thouſandes out of their ashes, and what was done of a popyſh polycye to ſuppreſſe and kepe vnder thy truth, that, of al other, dyd moſt ſet fourth the ſame. Thou haſt deliuered Danyel out of the denne of the liones, and he

hath set fourth thy worde abroade. But now countreemen, whom God hath blessed by deliuerynge you from the tirranny of the liones and her whelpes, (which went thorow the whole realme succyng the innocent bloude) how vnthanckfull are you vnto God so greatlye negle^ctynge so specyall a benefyte, fallyng into such a loufenes of lacyuyouse lyuing as the lyke hath neuer bene hard of hereto fore. Euen as ye are growne to a perfeccion in knowledge, so are ye come to a perfeccyon in al mischyefe. The Heathen, whyche had no other gyde but the law of nature, grauen in the tables of their hart, were neuer so poisoned with the contagion of most horrable heresies, as some of vs Christians which are not ashamed to brag and boсте of the spirite. But it is a phanaticke spirite, a braincicke spirite a sedicious and a malingnante spirite. Christ breath his spirite vpon you yat ye may rede ye scriptur with al humblenes and reuernce, to fetch from thence comforte for youre wounded consciences, not to make that lyuely fountayne of lyfe to serue for the fedyng of your idle braines, to dyspute more subtellye thereby, or else by myfunderstandyng of the same to consciue pernitious and annabaptistical opinions. Remeber that the seruaunte whiche knoweth hys maysters wyll and doeth it not, shalbe beaten wyth many stypes. God is a good God, a mercyful God a father whych beareth muche wyth oure croked nature and vnchristian behauour, and very floth to reuenge hys blasphemie this maintenance of so many vnscripterlye opinions, these brablynge and scismaticke contencions wherin a great packe of vs delyte and repose our glory, al though as fondly, as eroniously, to ye great sclaundur of the godly learned, and also to the hynderaunce of the good successe and fre paassage of the word of God. But as truly as god is God if we repent not shortly, his plages and vengaunce are not far of, hys indignacyon and wrathe shall be poured from heauen vpon our vngodlynes. He is long a commyng but when he comes he wil paye whome and (as Lactancius sayeth)

recompence his long sufferaunce wyth greuous repunish-
mentes. The world and the deuel hath bewitched vs
that we in our dedes (I feare me to manye of vs) deny
God to be God whatsoeuer we pittle pattle with our
tonges. Gods word must not be talcked of only, for
that is not inough. It must be expreffed. Then must
we as wel liue the worde as talke the worde, or else,
if good lyfe do not infue and folow vpon our readynge
to the example of other, we myghte as well spende
that tyme in reading of prophane hystories, of cantor-
burye tales, or a fit of Roben Hode. Let vs ioyne
good lyfe wyth our readyng, and yet al wylbe to lytle.
Remembre that the worlde and al that is in it, is mere
vanitie, and shall haue an ende. Thou I say, yat thus
abuwest the gyfte of Godes holy word, and the
gratioufnes of the Kynges maiestie, which hath lycensed
the to rede the same, for the comfort of thyne owne
soule, for the instructing of thi famyly, the education
of thy chyldren, and edefyng of thy neyghbour. Thou
that art so gorgyously apparelled, and feadeth thy
corruptible carkasse so dayntely, thou that purchasest
so fast, to the vtter vndoynge of the poore, con-
syder wherof thou camest, and wherunto thou shal
returne. Where is then all thy pompe? wher is all
thy ruffe of thy glorioufnes become? What wylt thou
say for thy selfe in that horrible daye of iudgment,
wher thou shalt stand naked before God, where the
tables of thine owne conscyence shalbe opened and
layed before thyne eies to accuse the. Thou which
reyfest the rentes so gredely as thoughe thou shouldest
neuer haue inough. Thy iudgemente is, throw
miserable mammon, so captyuate and blinded, that
you canst not tel when you haft inough, or what is
inough? Truly, a litle is to much for him yat knowes
not how to vse much well. Therfore learne fyrst the
vse of monei and riches, and some other honeste
meanes to attayne them, that thys thyne infaciabla
couetoufnes and vnlawful defyryng of other mens
goodes, maye be reduced to some reasonable measure,

and that it do not excede the lymytes or compasse of honestie, and the bondes of brotherly loue, lest God (before whom thou shalt appere one day, to rendre a strayght accomptes, for the dedes done in thy flesh) burden and charge the wyth thy vnmerciful handlyng of thy Tennant (but yet notwithstanding thy brother) whom, wyth newe Incomes, fynes, inhauncyng of rentes, and such lyke vnreasonable exactions, thou pilles, polles, and miserablie oppresses. When that terrible day shall once come, a lytle of Gods mercye wyll be worth a masse or a whole h[e]lpe of thy monei. Ther thy wicked Mammon, whom thou serueste lyke a slauē can purchase the no mercy. There thy money so gleaned and gathered of the and thyne (to the impoueryshment of many to make the only ryche) can not preuayle the, nor yet redeme thy cause before that iuste and feuere iudge, which then, and ther, wil render to ye, the selfe same measure yat you measureste to other men? What dyd we speake of preuaylyng, or redeming of thy cause with monei. Nay then thy monei, and the rous of thy gold shal be a wytnes against ye and shal eat thy fleshe as the fyre. Howe franctycke and folyshe myght al wyse men, wel iudge and deme him to be, which agaynst the daye of hys araignemente (when he should stand vpon the tryall of death and lyfe) woulde busye him self, his folkes, and his frendes, to prepare and get many wytnesses agaynst him to cast him awaye by theyr euidence and witnes: and to prouide suche menne as shoule be the onelye cause of hys death. Euen. So frantycke, and so folyshe art thou which doth toyle, trauayle, and turmoyle so ernestly and buslye aboue the gettyng of goodes and rytches, before thou hast well learned and taken furth of the lesson, of well vsyng the same. Howbeit, truelye I doute much of the well vsyng of yat, whych Prouerb. xix. was neuer well nor truely gotten. Learne therfore first, to know what is inough. For the wyse man sayth, it is better to haue a lytle with the fear

of the Lorde, then great and infaciable rytches. Sophonye saythe their golde shall not be able to Sophoni. i.
delyuer them in the day of the Lordes wrath. [Zephaniah i. 18.] Let your conuersacion be without couet- i. Hebre. iiij. ousnes, and be content with that ye haue alredi Godlines is a great ryches, if a man be content wyth suche as God sendes. For we brought i. Timoth. vii. nothyng into thys world, neither shal we carry anye thyng out. When we haue foode and rayment, let vs therwyth be content. Behold, thy Scholemaster Paule teaches the here a good lesson. Here thou mayst learne wel inough, to know what is inough. But lest thou shouldest feare at any time, the want or lacke of thys inoughe. Here farther the rest of thy lesson. For god verely sayth. The Lorde is myne helper, I wyll not fere what man doeth to me. If the Reuenues and yerely Rentes of thy patrymony and landes, be not inough, nor sufficient for thi fyndyng, and wyl not suffice thy charges, then moderate thyne expences, borrow of thy two next neighbours, that is to say, of thy backe and thi belly, Learne to eat within thy teather. Pul downe thy sayle, Saye downe proud hert. Mayntayn no greater port, then thou art able to bear out and support of thyne owne prouision. Put thy hand no further then thy fleue will reache. Cut thy cloth after the mesure. Kepe thy house after the spendyng. Thou must not pil an[d] powle the Tenant, that thou mayest haue (as they sai) *unde*, and that thy neuer inough to rufful it out in a riatous ruffe and a prodigal, dissolute, and lisen- ciouse liuing. We rede in the scripture, geue to euery manne his dutye, tribute, to whom tribute be- longeth, custome to whom Custome, is due. Feare to whom Feare belongeth, honoure to whom honoure partayneth. But we finde not there, nor elles where, fynges to whom fynges, incomes to whome incomes. Paul was not a quainted with none of those termes. Belyke they wer not vsed and commen vp in his time, or else he wold haue made mencion of them. Yeat

not withstandyng, we deny not but these reasonable required and vpon honest couenantes and contractes, are more tollerable, and so vsed, so maye be permitted. But the couenantes and the contractes we remitte to the godly wyisdome of the hie magistrates, who (we pray god) may take such order and

Esau v. direction in this, and al other, yat the commen people may be relyued and eased of, many importable charges and iniurys, which many of them, contrary to al equyte and ryght, sustaine. But wo worth this couetousnesse, not without skylle called the rote of all, euyl. If couetousnes were not, we thincke many things amisse, should shortelye be redressed. She is a mighty Matrone a Lady of great power. She hath reteyned moo seruautes then any Lady hath in Englande. But marke how well in fyne, She hath rewarded her seruantes, and lerne to be wyse by another mans harme. Acham by the commaunde-
Deutro. xvi. mente of God, was stoned to death, because he toke of the excommunicate goodes. Saul moued wyth couetousnes disobeied goddes worde, reseruunge the King, Agag and a parsell of the fattenest of the cattle, and lost hys kyngdome therby. Gehize was firycken wyth leaprofysy and all hys posteritie, because he toke money and rayment, of Naaman. The rich and vnmerciful gloton, whych fared well and depnelye euery day, was buried in hel, and there he taketh nowe such fare as the deuyl hymself doth. Woo be to you, that ioyne house to house, and feelde to feeld, shall ye alone inhabyte the yearth. Let these terrible examples suffyce at thys preasent, to teach, and admonysh, the inhaunser of Rentes, the vnresonable exactour and gredye requirer of fienes and incomes, the couetouse lease monger, the deuourer of townes and contryes as M. Latimer tearmeth them rightly. If these scriptures (with yat which thei may rede in these godly sermones) do not pearse their stony hertes (we feare) more wil not serue. The Lord be merciful to them. But nowe to the wycked Judge, which corruptes iustyce

for Brybes. Here he may learne also the lesson that Moses taughte long before thys time, be maiestrates and Iudges in the common wealth of Iosue vii. Israell. Be no accepter of personnes neyther be desirous of giftes, for they make wise men blinde, and chaunge the mynde of the ryghtuouse. In iudgement be merciful to the faterles as a father, and be in stead of an husband vn[to] theyr mother. The vngodly taketh giftes oute of the bosome, to wrafft the wayes of iudgement. Let hym that rules be dylygent sayth Paul. What meaneth he bi this terme, diligent? He requyres no such diligence as the most part of our lucratiuue lawyers do vse, in deferryng and prolongyng of matters, and accions from Terme to Terme, and in the tractynge of tyme in the same. Wher perchaunce the tylte or the ryght of the matter myght haue come to lyght, and bene tryed long before. If the Lawyers and the Iudges would haue vised such diligence as Paule would haue them to do.

i. To the Kinges. xv.
Ecclesiastical xiii.
Prouer. xvii.

But what care ye lawyers for Paul? Paul was but a mad man of lawe to controllle them for their diligence. Paul, yea and Peter to, coulde better skil of mending of an olde net, of clouting of an old tent, then to teach lawiers what dyligence they shold vse in the expedicion, of matters. Whi? but be not lawiers diligent fay ye? Yea truly are thei and to diligent to for some mens profytes. And about their own profit ther are no more diligenter men nor busier persons in al England they trudge in ye tearme time to and fro. The[y] applye the world harde. They for flow no tyme. Thei follow Sifes and Sessions, Letes, Lawdays and Hundredes, they shold serue the kyng, but thei serue them selues. And howe thei vse, nay rather abuse, their office in the same, some good manne wyll tell theym thereof. We lacke a fewe moo Latymers, a fewe moo suche Preachers. Such playn Pasquyls, we pray God prouide for vs, that kepereth nothing backe. Of the whych fort and numbre, we

may most worthely recken this saythful mynister of God, and constant Preacher of his word Master Hugh Latimer, which by hys perseuerauance and stedfastnes in the truth hath stablyshed this waueryng world. He hath bene tost for the truthe sake, and tried with the stormes of persecution, as golde in the fornace. He is one, whom, as well for hys learned, founde, and chatholyke iudgement, in the knowledg of Gods worde, as for his integretie and example of christian conuerstation, all we and (specially mynisters and prelates) ought to set before our eyes, as a pryncipall patrone to imytate and follow, desyryng God, who hathe styrred vp in him, the bold spirite of Helias, maye dayly more and more augment the same in hym, and may also prouide many such preaching prelates, which both so wel could, and so willingly wold franelkely vtter ye trueth, to the extollinge of vertue, the rewarde of well doers, the supressing of vice, the abolishmente of all papestrie. It is oure parte therefore to praye diligently for his continual health and that he may liue longe amonge vs in a florishinge old aye, and not (as some in gracie in humaine persons) to maligne and deprauie him for yat he so franelkely and liberallye taxed perstringed and openly rebuked before the Kinges Magestie ye peculiar fauts of certayne of his auditours, but it is oure part, rather thankefully to accept and in good part take his godly aduertisment, onles we be mynded to prefer oure muckye monie and false felicitie before the ioyse of

heauen, or els beleue (as ye Epecurs do) that after this life ther is neither hel nor heauen. Receiue thankfully (gentle reader these sermons faith fullie colected) without al sinner suspicion of unye thyng in the same addid or adempte .
Finis.

The. xxi. day of Iune.

The seconde sermon



*Vacunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam. etc.** All thinges yat are written in Gods boke, in the holye Byble, they were wrytten before oure tyme, but yet to continue from age to age as long as the worlde doeth stand.

In thys Boke is contayned doctrine for al estates, euen for kynges. A kynge herein maye learne how to gyde hymselfe, I tolde you in my laste sermon muche of the dutye of a kyng. And ther is one place behynd yet, and it foloweth in ye texte. *Postquam autem federit in folio regni sui, et cete.*† And when the kyng is sette in the feate of hys kyngdome, he shall wryte hym out a boke and take a copy of ye priestes or Leuites. He shall haue the boke wyth hym, and why? to reade in it all the dayes of hys lyfe, to learne to feare God, and learne hys Lawes and other thynges, as it foloweth in the texte wyth the appurtenaunces and hangynges on, that he turne not frome God, neyther to the ryght hande, nor to the lefste. And wherfore shal he do thys? that he may lyue longe, he and hys children. Hytherto goeth the texte. That I maye declare thys the better to the edifiyng of youre soules and the glory of God, I shall desyre you to praye etc.

Et postquam federit. etc. Before I enter into thys

* Rom. xv. 4.

+ And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of *that which is* before the priestes the Levites:

And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life; that he may learn to fear the

LORD his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes, to do them.

That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment, *to the right hand, or to the left*, to the end that he may prolong *his* days in his kingdom, he, and his children, in the midst of Israel.—Deut. xvii. 18-20.

place (right honourable audience) to furnysh it accordyngly, whych by the grace of god I shal do at leysure, I woulde repeete the place I was in last, and furnyshe it wyth a story or two whyche I leste oute in my last sermon. I was in a matter concerning the sturdines of the Iewes, a frowarde and styfnecked kynde of people, much lyke oure Englyshe men nowe a dayes, that in the minoritye of a Kynge, take vpon them to breke lawes and to go by wayes. For when god had promised them a kynge, when it came to point they refused hym. These men walked by walkes, and the fayynge is many biwalkes, many balkes, manye balkes muche stumblynge, and where muche stumblynge is, there is sometyme a fal, howbeit ther were some good walkers among them, that walked in ye kynges highe waye ordinarilye, vprightlye, playne Dunstable waye, and for thys purpose, I woulde shewe you an hystorye whiche is written in the thyrde of the kynges.*

Kynge Dauid beyng in his chyldhode, an old man, in hys second chyldhode, for al old men are twise chyldren, as the Prouerb is. *Senex bis purr.* An olde manne, twyse a chyld, it hapened wyth him, as it doth oftentymes, when wicked men, of a Kinges chyldhode take occasion of euyl.

Thys Kynge Dauid beyng weake of nature and impotente, in so muche that when he was couered with clothes, he coulde take no heate, was counsayled of hys seruauntes to take a fayre yonge mayde to nouryshe hym, and to keepe hym warme in hys bodye. I suppose she was hys wyfe. Howe be it he hadde no bodilye companie wyth hyr, and wel she myghte be hys wyfe. For though the scripture doeth saye. *Non cognouit eam.* He knewe hyr not, he had no carnal copulation with hyr yet it sayeth not. *Non duxit eam Vxorem.* He maried hyr not. And I canne not thynke that king Dauid woulde haue hyr too warme hys bosome in Bedde, excepte shes hadde

* 2 Kings, i. and ii. chap.

bene hys wyfe, hauynge a dispensation of God to haue as manye wyues as he woulde. For God had dispensed wyth theym to haue manye wyues. Wel, what happened to kyng Dauid in hys childehode, by ye chylde of the deuyll? Ye shall heare. Kynge Dauid hadde a proud sonne, whose name was Adonyas, a man ful of ambition, desyerouse of honoure, alwayes clymbyng, climbynge. Nowe, whylse the tyme was of his fathers childhode, he wold depose hys father, not knoweyng of hys fathers mynd, saiyng. *Ego regnabo.* I wil raigne, I wyll be kyng, he was a stoute stomaked chyld, a biwalker, of an ambitious mynde, he wold not confente to hys fathers frendes, but gate hin a charet, and men to runne before it, and dyuerse other adherentes to helpe hym forwarde, worldelye wise men, such as had bene before of hys fathers counsayle, great men in the world, and some no doute of it, came of good wil thynkyng no harme, for they woulde not thynke that he did it wythoute hys fathers wyll, hauynge such greate men to set hym forth, for euery man cannot haue acceſſe at al tymes to the kynge to knowe hys pleafure, well: algates he would be Kynge, and makes a great feaſt, and thither he called Ioab the ryngleader of hys fathers armye, a worldly wyſe man, a bywalker, that would not walke the Kynges hye way, and one Abiather the hyghe prieſte. For it is maruayle if any mischyefe be in hand, if a prieſte be not at ſome ende of it, they toke hym as Kynge, and cried, *Vivat rex Adonias.* God faue kynge Adonias. Dauid ſuffered all thys, and lette hym alone, for he was in hys chyldehode a bedred man.

But fe howe God ordered the matter, Nathan the Prophete and Sadoc a prieſte, and Banaya, and Crethytēs, and Phelethyts the Kyngs gard, they were not called to the feaſt.

These were good men, and woulde not walke bywayes, therefore it was foly to breake the matter to them, they were not called to counſell.

Therefore Nathan when he hearde of thys, he commeth to Bethsabe Salomons mother and sayeth. Heare ye not howe Adonias the sonne of Ageth, rayneth kynge, Dauid not knowinge? And he bad hyr put the kynge in mynde of hys oth that he sware that hyr sonne Salomon should be kinge after hym, thys was wise counsayle accordynge to the Prouerbe. *Qui Vedit plane, uadit sene.*

He that walketh in the hye playne waye, walketh safelye. Vpon thys she wente and brake the matter to Dauid, and desiered hym to shewe who shold raynge after hym in Hierusalem, addinge that if Adonias were kynge, she and hyr sonne after hys death shoulde be destroyed, saiying. *Nos erimus peccatores.* We shalbe finners, we shalbe taken for traytors, for though we ment no harme but walked vprightly yet bicause we went not the byway with hym, he beyng in authoritie wyl destroy vs. And by and by cometh in Nathan, and taketh hyr tale by the ende, and sheweth him how Adonias was saluted kynge and that he hadde byd to diner the Kynges seruantes, al sauynge hym and Sadoc, and Banaia and al hys brethren the kings sonnes saue Salomon. Kynge Dauid remembryng hym selfe swore, as sure as God lyueth, Salomon my son shall raygne after me, and by and by commaunded Nathan and Sadoc and hys garde the Cerethes and Philites, to take Salomon hys sonne and sette hym vpon hys mule, and anoynt hym Kyng, and so they dyd, criyng, *Viuat Salomon Rex.* Thus was Salomon throned, by the aduise and wyl of hys father, and though he were a chylde, yet was his wyl to be obeyed and fulfylled, and they ought to haue knownen hys pleasure. Whylse this was a doing there was suche a Ioye and outcrye of the people for theyr newe Kynge, and blowynge of trumpetes, yat Ioab and the other company beyng in theyr iolitye, and kepyng good cheare: herde it, and sodaynlye asked what is thys ado? And when they perceiued yat Salomon by ye aduyse of hys father was annoynted

Kyng, by and by ther was all whysht, all theyr good chere was done, and al yat were wyth Adonias wente away, and lette hym raygne alone, if he woulde, and whye? He walked a bywaye and God would not prospere it.

God wyll not worcke wyth priuate authoritie, nor wyth anye thinge done inordinatlye. When Adonias saw this that he was left alone, he toke sanctuary, and held by the hornes of the aultare and fware that he woulde not departe thence, tyll Salomon woulde sweare that he shoulde not leafe hys life. Here is to be noted the notable sentence, and greate mercy of Kynge Salomon.

Lette hym sayeth he order hym selfe lyke a quiete manne and there shall not one heere fall from hys head.

*Sed si inuentum fuerit malum in eo.**

But if there shall be any euyll found in hym if he hath gone aboute anye mischyf, he shall dye for it. Vpon thys he was broughte into Salomon, and as the boke fayrely, he dyd homage vnto hym, and Salomon fayed to hym. *Vade in domum tuam.†*

Gette the into thy house, bilyke he meante to warde, and ther to se hys wearynge, as if he shoulde faye, shewe thyselfe wythoute gall of ambition, to be a quiet subiecte, and I wyll pardon the for thys tyme. But I wyll se the wearynge of the.

Here wee maye se the wonderfull great mercye of Salomon for thys notorious treason, yat Adonias had committed, it was a plaine matter, for he suffered hymselfe to be called kynge, it hung not of vehement suspition or conieecture nor sequel or consequent yet notwythstandynge Salomon for that present, forgaue hym, sayinge. I wyl not forget it vtterlye, but I wyll kepe it in suspense, I wyll take no aduantage of the at thys tyme. This Adonias and Absolon were brethren, and came boeth of a straung mother, and Absolon lykewyse was a traytour, and made an in-

* But if wickedness be found in man, he shall die.—Kings 1. 32. + Go to thine howe.—ver. 53.

surrection agaynst hys father. Beware therefore these mothers and let kynges take hede howe they mary, in what houffes, in what fayeth. For strang bryngyng vp, bringeth straunge maners. Nowe geueth Dauid an exhortation to Salomon, and teacheth him the dutye of a Kynge, and geueth hym a lesson, as it foloweth at large in ye boke, and he that lyfte to reade it, maye se it ther at full. But what doeth Adonias all thys whyle? He must yet clymbe agayne, ye gal of ambition was not out of his hert. He wil now mary Abisaas the yonge quene that warmed king Dauids bosome, as I told you, and commeth me to Berfaba, defyering hyr to be a meane to Salomon hyr sonne that he myght obtaine hys purpose. And bryngeth me out a couple of lyes at a clappe, and committeth me two vnlawfull actes. For fyrste he would haue bene Kynge wythoute hys fathers consent, and now he wyl mary his fathers wife, and the. ii. lyes are these. Fyrste, fayed he to Berfabe, thou knowest that the Kyngedom belongeth to me, for I am the elder. The kyngedom was myne, he lyed falsely it was none of his. Then fayed he all the eyes of Israel were caste vpon me, that is to faye, all Israel consented to it, and there he lyed falsely. For Nathan, Sadoc, and other wyfe men, neuer agreed to it. Here was a greate enterprice of Adonias, he wyl be climbing styll. Well Berfabe wente at hys requeste to hyr sonne Salomon, and asked a boune, and he graunted hyr what so euer she did aske. Notwithstanding he brake his promise afterward and that right well, for all promises are not to be kept, speciallye if they be agaynst the worde of God. Or not standynge with a commune profit, and therefore as sone as Salomon heard yat Adonias would haue maryed the yonge quene Abisaak: naye then let hym be kynge to: fayed he. I perceyue now that he is a naughty man, a proude herted fellow, the gal of ambition is not yet out of his herte, and so commaunded him to be put to death. Thus was Adonias put to execution, wher as if he had kepte

hys house and not broken hys iniunction, he myght haue lyued stil. Abiathar, what became of him. The king (because he had serued his father before him) woulde not put him to deth, but made him as it were a quondam. Bicause thou hast bene with mi father saied he, and didest cary the arke before hym I wyl not kyl the.

But I wyll promyse the thou shalte neuer minister anye more. *Vade in agrum tuum?* * Get the to thy lande, and lyue there. A greate matter of pity and compassion, so God graunt vs al, such mercy. And here was the ende of Elis stocke, accordyng to the promise and threatening of God. As for the Phelethites we do not read yat they were punyshed. Mary Semei traunsgressed his Iniunction for he kepte not hys house, but wente oute of Hierusalem to seke two seruauntes of hys yat had runne from hym, and when it came to Salomons eare, it coste hym hys life. I haue ript the matter nowe to the pyll, and haue tolde you of playne walkers, and of biwalkers, and how a kynge in hys childehode is a kynge, as wel, as in any other age. We reade in scripture of suche as were but. xii. or. viii. yeares olde, and yet the worde of the holy Gooste called them kynges, sayinge. *Cepit Regnare.* He began to raygne, or he began to be kynge. Here is of bywalkers. Thys hyfstorye would be remembred, the Prouerbe is.

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

Happy is he that can beware by an other mans ieoperdy. For if we offende not as other do, it is not oure owne desertes.

If we fal not, it is Goddes preseruation. We are all offenders For other we maye do, or haue done, or shall do (excepte God preserue vs) as euyll as the worste of them. I pray God we maye all amende and repente. But we wyll all amende nowe I truste. We mustes neades amende our lyues euerye man. The holy communion is at hand, and we may not receyue it vnworthelye.

* Get thes to Anathoth, unto thine own fields.—*1 Kings* 1. 26.

Wel, to returne to my history. Kynge Dauid I say was a kynge in his seconde childhode. And so, yonge kynges though they be chyldren, yet are they kynges notwythstandynge, and though it be wrytten in scripture. *Væ tibi O terra ubi puer est rex.** Wo to the, O Lande, where ye king is a chylde: if foloweth in an other place. *Beata terra ubi rex nobilis.*† Blessed is the Lande, where there is a noble kynge. Where Kynges be no banketers, no players, and they spend not the tyme in haukyng and huntyng.

And when hadde the kynges maiestye a Councell that toke more Payne boeth night and day for the settynge forthe of Gods word, and profit of the commune wealth. And yet there be some wycked people that wyll faye.

Tushe, thys geare wyll not tarye, it is but my Lorde Protectours, and my Lorde of Canterburies doyng. The Kinge is a child, he knoweth not of it.

Iesu mercy, how lyke are we Englyshe men to the Iewes, euer stubburne, styfnecked, and walkynge of bye wayes. Yea I thynke no Iewe woulde at any tyme faye. This geare wil not tary. I neuer hearde nor read at any time yat they fayed.

These lawes were made in such a kynges dayes, when he was but a chylde. Let vs alter them. O Lorde what pitye is thys that we shoulde be woriste then the Iewes?

Blessed be the lande faith the worde of God, wher the Kyng is noble. What people are they that faye. The kynge is but a chylde? Haue not wee a noble Kynge? Was there euer Kynge so noble? So Godlye? broughte vp wyl so noble counsaylours? so excellent and well learned Scholemaisters? I wyll tell you thys, and I speake it euen as I thynke. Hys maiestye hath more Godlye wytte and vnderstandyng, more lernynge and knowledge at thys age, then. xx. of hys

* Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child.—Eccles. x. 16.

† Blessed art thou, O land, when thy king is the son of nobles.—Eccles. x. 17.

progenitors that I coulde name had at anye tyme of theyr lyfe.

I tolde you in my lafte sermon of ministers of the kinges people and had occation to shewe you howe few noble men were good preachers, and I left out an hystory then whyche I wyl nowe tell you.

There was a byshop of Winchester in Kyng Henry the. vi. dayes, whyche kynge was but a chylde, and yet were there manye good ACTes made in hys childehode, and I do not read that they were broken.

Thys byshoppe was a great man borne, and did beare such a stroke, that he was able to shoulde the Lord Protectour. Well, it channced yat the Lorde Protectoure and he fell out, and the byshoppe would beare nothynge at all wyth hym, but played me the *Satrapa*, so that the regente of Fraunce was faine to be sent for from beyond the Seas to set theim at one, and to go betwene them.

For the byshoppe was as able and readye to buckle wyth the Lorde Protectoure, as he was wyth hym.

Was not this a good prelate? he should haue bene at home a preachynge in hys Dioces in a wanian. Thys Protector was so noble and Godly a man, that he was called of euerye man the good Duke Humfrey. He kept suche a houffe as neuer was kept fence in Englande, wythout any enhaunsyng of rentes I warrant you, or any such matter. And the byshop for standing so stifyle by the matter, and bearynge vp the order of our mother ye holie church, was made Cardinall at Calice, and thyther the byshop of Rome sent hym a cardinals hatte, he shold haue had a Tiburne tippet, a halpeny halter, and all suche proude prelates. These Romish hertes [hats?] neuer broughte good into Englande.

Vpon thys the bishop goeth me to the quene Katherin the kinges wife, a proud woman and a stout, and perswaded hir that if ye duke were in such authoritie styl, and lyued, ye people wold honor him more then they dyd the king. And ye king should

not be set by, and so betwen them, I can not tel how it came to pas, but at S. Edmundes bury in a parliment the good Duke Humfrey was smothered.

But nowe to returne to my texte, and to make further rehearsall of ye same, the matter beginneth this. *Et pos[t]quam federit rex** And when the kyng is sette in the feate of hys Kyngedom, what shal he do? shal he daunce, and dally, banquet? hauke and hunte? No forsothe syr. For as God set an order in the Kyngs stable as I tolde you in my last Sermon, so wyll he appoynte what pastyme a Kynge shall haue. What must he do then? He muste be a studient. He must wryte Goddes boke hym selfe. Not thynkyng bycause he is a kynge, he hath lycence to do what he wyl, as these worldlye flatterers are wont to say. Yea, trouble not your self sir, ye mai hauke and hunt, and take youre pleasure. As for the guydinge of your kyngdome and people, let vs alone wyth it.

These flattering clawbackes are originall rotes of all mischyue, and yet a Kynge maye take hys pastyme in haukinge or huntyng or such lyke pleasures. But he muste vse them for recreation when he is wery of waughty affayres, that he mai returne to them the more lustye. and this is called pastyme with good compayne. He must write out a boke hym selfe. He speaketh of wrytyng because printyng was not vised at yat tyme.

And shall the Kynge wryte it out hym selfe? He meaneth he 'shall se it wrytten, and rather then he 'shoulde be wythout it, wryte it hym selfe.'

Iesus mercy, is God so chary wyth a kynge to haue hym wel brought vp and instructed? Yea forsooth. For if the kyng be well ordered, the realme is wel ordered. Where shall he haue a copy of thys boke? of the Leuits. And why? Because it shal be a true copye, not falsifyed.

Moyses lefte the boke in an olde cheste, and the Leuites had it in kepyng. And bycause ther should

^{1. 14} And . . . when he sitteth, &c.—Deut xvii. 18; see text at n. 33.

be no errour, no addition, nor takyng away from it, he byddeth hym fetch the copy of the Leuites. And was not here a greate miracle of God, how this boke was preferued? It had layne hyd many yeres and the Iewes knew not of it.

Therefore at lengthe when they had found it and knew it: they lamented for theyr ignoraunce, that had so long bene wythoute it, and rente theyr clothes, repentyng theyr vnfaythfulnes, and so ye holye byble Goddes boke, that we haue among vs, it hathe bene preferued hytherto by a wonderful miracle of God (though the kepers of it were neuer so malitiouse) firsste euer sythe the byshop of Rome was firsste in authoritye, they haue gone about to destroy it, but God worketh wonderfully, he hathe preferued it maugre theyr beardes, and yet are we vnthankefull that we cannot consider it. I wil tel you, what a byshoppe of thys realme fayed once to me, he fent for me and merueyled that I woulde not consente to fuche tradicions, as were then sette out.

And I answered hym that I woulde be ruled by Gods boke and rather then I woulde dissent one iote from it I woulde be torne wyth wylde horffes.

And I chaunced in our communication to name the Lordes supper? Tushe fayeth the Byshop. What do ye call the Lordes supper? What newe terme is that? There stode by hym a dubber, one Doctour Dubber he dubbed hym by and by and fayed that this terme was feldome rede in the doctours.

And I made answer, yat I wold rather folowe Paule in vsyng hys termes then them though they hadde all the doctours on theyr syde. Whyc fayed the byshoppe, can not we wythoute scriptures order ye people? How dyd they before the scripture was fyrste wrytten and copied out? But God knoweth, ful yl. yet woulde they haue ordered theim. For seyng that hauyng it, they haue deceyued vs in what case shold we haue bene nowe wythout it? But thankes be to God yat by so wonderful a miracle he hathe preferued ye boke

ityll. It foloweth in the texte *Habebit secum etc.** He shal haue it with hym in hys progresse, he muste haue a man to carry it, that when he is haukyng and hunting or in any pastime, he maye alwayes commune with them of it. He shall reade in it not once a yeaer, for a tyme, or for hys recreation when he is weary of haukyng or hunting but *Cunctis diebus vita fuit.*† All ye dayes of hys lyfe. Where are those worldlynges now? These bledder puffed vp wylle men? Wo worth them that euer they were about any Kynge. But howe shall he read thys boke? as the Homilies are read. Some call theym homlyes, and in dede so they maye be well called, for they are homelye handeled.

For though the priestes reade theym neuer so well, yet if the Paryshe like them not, ther is suche talkynge and bablynge in the churche, that nothynge can be heard, and if the parish be good, and the priest naught he wil so hacke it, and choppe it, that it were as good for theym to be wythout it for any worde, that shal be vnderstande. And yet the more pitye. Thys is suffred of your graces byshops in theyr dioces vnpunished.

But I wyll be a suter to youre grace that ye wyll geue youre byshoppes charge yer they go home, vpon theyr allegiaunce to loke better to theyr flocke, and to se your maiesties iunictions better kepte, and fende youre visitours in theyr tayles.

And if they be founde negligente or fauty in theyr duties oute with them. I require it in Gods behalfe, make them quondams all the packe of them. But peraduenture ye wil saye. Where shall we haue anye to put in theyr roumes.

In dede I were a presumptuous fellow to moue your grace to put them oute, if there were not other to put in theyr places. But youre maiestye hath diuers of youre chaplayns, well learned men, and of good

* And it shall be with him, &c.— Deut. xvi. 19: see text at p. 55.

† All the days of his life.—John

knowledge, and yet ye haue some that be bad inough, hangers on of ye court. I meane not those. but if your maiesties chaplays, and my Lorde Protectours be not able to furnishe theyr places, there is in thys realme, thankes be to God, a greate syghte of laye men wel learned in the scriptures, and of vertuouse and Godly conuersation, better lerned then a greate fight of vs, of the cleargy.

I can name a numbre of them that are able and woulde be glad I dare say to minister ye function if they be called to it. I moue it of conscience to youre grace, lette them be called to it orderly, let them haue institution, and gyue them the name of ye cleargye. I meane not the name onlye, but lette theym, do the function of a byshop, and lyue of the same. Not as it is in many places, that one shoulde haue the name, and eyghte other the profytte.

For what an enormitie is this in a christian realme to serue in a ciuilitye, hauynge the profyt of a Prouestshyp and a Deanry, and a Personage.

But I wyll tell you what is lyke to come of it. It wyl bryng the cleary shortly into a very flauerye. I maye not forget here my *Scala cæli*, that I spoke of in my laste sermon. I wyll repete it now againe, defier- yng your grace in Goddes behalfe that ye wyll remembre it.

The Byshop of Rome had a *Scala cæli*, but his was a mas[s] matter. This *Scala cæli*, is the true ladder that bryngeth a manne to heauen, the toppe of the ladder or fyrst greese, is thys.

Who so euer calleth vpon the name of the Lorde, shall be sauued. The seconde stepe. Howe shall they call vpon hym, in whom they haue no beleue.

The thyrd slayer is thys. How shal they beleue in hym of whom they neuer heard? The fourth stepe. Howe shall they heare wythout a preacher. Nowe the nether ende of the ladder is. Howe shall they preach, except they be sent. This is the fote of the ladder, so that we maye go backward now, and vse ye

schole argument. *A primo ad ultimum.* Take awaye preaching, take awaye saluation.

But I feare one thynge, and it is : leſt for a ſalfety of a little money, you wyll put in chauntrye Priestes, to faue theyr pentions.

But I wyll tell you, Christe boughte Soules wyth hys bloude, and wyll ye ſell theym for golde or ſyluer.

I woulde not that ye ſhould do wyth chauntrye priestes, as ye dyd wyth the Abbotes, when Abbeyes were put downe.

For when theyr enormities were fyſte read in ye parliament house, they were ſo greate and abhominable, that there was nothynge but downe with them. But within a whyle after, the ſame Abbottes were made byſhops as there be ſome of them yet a lyue to faue and redeme theyr pentions. O Lorde, thinke ye, that God is a fole, and feeth it not, and if he ſe it, wyl he not punyſhe it. And ſo nowe for ſalfety of money, I wold not yat ye ſhould put in chauntrye priestes, I ſpeakē not now againſt ſuche chauntrye priestes as are able to preache, but thoſe that are not able I wyll not haue them put in. For if ye do thys ye ſhall Anſwere for it.

It is in the text, that a king ought to feare god, he ſhal haue the dreade of God before hys eyes, worcke not by worldelye polycye, for worldlye policie feareth not God.

Take hede of theſe claubacks, theſe venemouſe people that wyll come to you, that wyll folowe lyke gnatoes and Parafites, if you folowe theym, you are oute of youre boke. If it be not accordyng to Gods worde that they counſayle you, do it not for any wordlye polycye, for then ye feare not God.

It foloweth in the texte. *Ut non eleuetur cor eius.** That he be not proude aboue hys brethern. A kynge muſte not be proude, for God myght haue made hym a ſhepheard, when he made him a kynge, and done hym no wronge.

* That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren.—Deut. xvii. 19: see text at p. 55.

There be many examples of proude kynges in scripture.

As Pharao that woulde not heare the message of God. Herode also, yat put Iohn Baptist to death, and wolde not heare hym, he tolde hym that it was not lawefull for hym to marye hys brothers wyfe.

Ieroboam also was a proude kynge. An other kynge there was that worshipped straunge Gods and Idols, of those men whom he had ouercome before in battayle, and when a prophet tolde hym of it. What sayd he. Who made you one of my councel. These were proud kynges, theyr ensamples are not to be followed.

But wherefore shall a kynge feare God, and turne neyther to the ryght hande, nor to the left? Wherefore shall he do all thys? *Vt longo tempore regnet, ipse et filii eius.** That he may raigne long, he and hys chyldren. Remembre thys I besech your grace. And when these flatterers, and flybbergypes an other daye shall come and clawe you by the backe and say.

Syr trouble not your selfe? What should you study? Why shold you do this or that. Your grace maye answer them thus, and say. What Syrra, I perceyue you are wary of vs, and our posterite. Doeth not God fai in such a place. That a king shold wryt oute a boke of Gods lawe, and reade it? learne to feare God. And whye? That he and his, might raygne long, I perceyue nowe thou arte a traytoure.

Tell hym thys tale once, and I warrant you he wyll come no more to you, neyther he, nor any other after such a forte.

And this shal your grace driue these flatterers and claubackes awaye. And I am afrayed I haue troubled you to longe.

Therefore I wyl furnyshe the texte nowe wyth an hystory or two, and then I wyll leauue you to God. Ye haue heard how a kyng ought to passe ye tyme. He

* That he may prolong *his* days in his kingdom, he, and his children.—Deut. xvii. 20; see text at p. 55.

muste read the boke of God, and it is not inouge for hym to reade, but he must be acquainted wyth all scripture, he must studye, and he muste praye, and howe shall he do both these.

He maye learne at Salomon,

God spake vnto Salomon, when he was made a kynge, and bade hym aske of hym what he woulde, and he should haue it. Make thy petition fayed God, and thou shalt obtayne.

Nowe marke Salomons prayer. *domine, O domine deus,** sayd he. O Lorde God, it is thou that hast caused me to raigne, and hast set me in my fathers seate, for thou God onelye doest make kynges. Thus shoulde Kynges prayse God, and thanke God as Salomon dyd.

But what was his petition? Lorde, fayed he. *Da mihi cor docile.* He aske a docible herte, a wyse herte, and wysedome to go in and to go out, that is to begyn all myne affayres well, and to bryng them to good effecte and purpose, that I maye learne to guyde and gourne my people. When he had made his petition it pleased God wel that Salomon asked wisdome, and neyther ryches nor longe lyfe, and therefore God marke hym thys answere. Bycause thou hast chosen wyse-dome aboue al thynges I wyl gyue ye it, and thou shalt be ye wyldest kyng that euer was before the, and so he was, and the wyldest in al kyndis of knowle[ti]ge that euer was syth; and though he did not aske riches, yet god gaue him both ryches and honoure, more then euer anye of hys auncitours had.

So your grace muste learne howe to do of Salomon. Ye muste make your petition, nowe study, nowe praye. They muste be yoked togither, and thys is called pastime wyth good company. Nowe when God had geuen Salomon wysedome, he sente hym by and by occasion to occupy hys wyt. For God gaue neuer a gyft, but he sente occasion at one tyme or an other to shewe it to Gods glory. As if he sente riches, he sendeth pore men to be helped wyth it. But nowe muste

men occupy theyr goodes other ways. They wil not loke on the poore, they muste helpe their children, and purchase them more land then euer their grandfather had before them. But I shall tell you what Christ sayd. He that loueth his child better then me is not worthye to be my disciple. I can not se how ye shal stande before God at the later daye, when thys sentence shall be layed agaynste you.

But to returne to my purpose, there were two pore women came before Salomon to complayne. They were two harlots, and dwelled togyther in one houise, and it chaunced within. ii. dayes they chylded both. The one of these women bi chaunce in the nyght had kylled hyr child and rose priuely and went to the other woman, and toke hir lyue chylde away, and left hir dead chylde in hys place.

Vpon that they came boeth before Salomon to haue the matter iudged, whose the child was. And the one sayd, it is my chylde. Naye, sayeth the other, it is myne. So there was yea, and naye, betwene them, and they helde vp the matter wyth skoldinge after a womanly fashyon. At length Salomon repeated theyr tale as a good iudge, ought to do, and sayd to the one woman.

Thou sayst the child is thine, yea sayed she. And thou sayste it is thyne to the other. Well, fetche me a swerd sayed he. For there was no way now to trye whyche was the true mother, but by naturall inclination.

And so he sayd to one of hys seruantes. Fetche me a swerde and deuyde the chyld betwene them. When the mother of the chylde that accused the other hearde hym faye so. Naye for Goddes sake sayed she, let hyr haue the whole chylde, and kil it not. Naye quod the other, neyther thyne, nor myne, but let it be deuided.

Then sayed Salomon. Geue thys woman the chylde, thys is the mother of the chylde.

What came of thys? *Audieuit omnis Israel.* When

all Israell heard of thys iudgemente, they feared the kyng. It is wysedome and Godly knowle[d]ge that caufeth a kyng to be feared. One word note here for Gods sake, and I wyll trouble you no lenger.

Woulde Salomon beynge so noble kynge heare. ii. poore women. They were pore, for as the scripture saith. They were togyther alone in a house, they hadde not so muche as one seruaunt betwene them boeth.

Woulde kynge Salomon I say heare them in his own person? Yea forsothe. And yet I heare of many matters before my Lorde Protectour, and my Lorde Chaunceloure that can not be hearde. I muste desyre my Lorde protectours grace to heare me in thyse matter, that your grace would heare poore mens futes yourselfe. Putte it to none other to heare, let them not be delayed. The saying is, nowe that mony is harde euery wher if he be ryche he shall soone haue an ende of his matter. Other are fayn to go home with weeping teares for ani help they can obtain at ani Judges hand. Heere mens fuets your selfe I requyre you in godes behalfe and put it not to the hering of these velvet cotes, these vp skippes. Nowe a man can skarfe knowe them from an auncyent Knyght of the countrye.

I can not go to my boke for pore folkes come vnto me, desirynge me that I wyll speake yat that theyr matters maye be heard. I trouble my Lord of Canterbury, and beynge at hys house nowe and then I walke in the garden lokyng in my boke, as I canne do but little good at it. But some thyng I muste nedes do to satiffye thy place.

I am no soner in the garden and haue red a whyle, but by and by commeth there some or other knocking at the gate.

Anone cometh my man and sayth. Syr, there is one at the gate woulde speake wyth you. When I come there, then is it some or other that desirereth me that I wyll speake that hys matter might he heard,

and that he hathe layne thys longe at great costes and charges, and can not once haue hys matter come to the hearing, but among all other, one especially moued me at thys tyme to speake.

Thys it is syr. A gentylwoman came to me and tolde me, that a greate man kepeth certaine landes of hyrs from hir, and wilbe hyr tenaunte in the spite of hyr tethe. And that in a whole twelue moneth she coulde not gette but one daye for the hearynge of hyr matter, and the same daye when the matter shoulde be hearde, the greate manne broughte on hys syde a greate syghte of Lawyers for hys counsayle, the gentylwoman had but one man of lawe: and the great man shakes hym so that he can not tell what to do, so that when the matter came to the poynte, the Judge was a meane to the gentylwoman, that she wold let the great man haue a quietnes in hyr Iande. I beseeche youre grace that ye wyll loke to these matters.

Heare them your selfe? Vieue your Judges? And heare pore mens causes. And you proude Judges herken what God fayeth in hys holye boke. *Audite illos, ita paruum ut magnum.** Heare theym fayeth he, the smal as well as the greate, the pore as well as the ryche. Regarde no person, feare no man. Why? *Quia domini iudicium est.** The iudgemente is Goddes.

Marcke thys sayinge thou proude Judge? The deyyl will bryng thys sentence at the daye of Dombe. Helwyl be ful of these Judges if they repent not and amende.

They are worisse then the wicked Judge that Christe speaketh of, that neyther feared God, nor the worlde. There was a certayne wyddowe that was a futer to a Judge, and she met hym in euery corner of the streate, criyng. I pray you heare me, I besech you heare me, I aske nothyng but ryght.

When the Judge fawe hyr so importunate, though I fere neyther God, sayth he, nor the worlde, yet bycause of hyr importunatenes I wyll graunte hyr requeste.

* Ye shall hear the small as well the face of man, for the judgment is as the great, ye shall not be afraid of God's.—Deut. i. 17.

But our Iudges are worse then thys Judge was. For they wyll neyther heare men for Gods sake, nor feare of the worlde, not importunatenes, nor any thyng else. Yea some of them wyll commaund them to ward, if thei be importunat.

I hearde saye, that when a futer came to one of theym, he sayed. What fellowe is it that geueth these folke counsayl to be so importunate, he would be punyshed and commytted to ward.

Mary sye, punishe me then, it is euen I that gaue them counsayle, I woulde gladlye be punished in suche a cause. And if ye mend not, I wyll cause them to crye oute vpon you styll: euen as long as I lyue. I wyll do it in dede, but I haue troubled you long. As I began wyth thys sentence. *Quæcunque scripta sunt. etc.** So wyl I end now wyth thys texte. *Beati qui audiunt verbum dei et custodiunt illud.†* Blessed are they that heare the worde of God and kepeth it.

There was an other fute and I had almooste forgotten it.

There is a poore woman that lyeth in the Flete, and can not come by anye meanes that she can make, to hyr answere, and woulde fayne be baylled, offerynge to put in suerties worth a thousande pounde and yet she can not be hard. Me thinke this is a reasonable cause, it is great pitie yat such things shold so be. I besech God, that he wil graunte that all that is amyse may be amended yat we mai hear his word and kepe it, yat we mai hear his worde, and kepe it, yat we maye come to ye eternall blisse, to the which blyffe I beseeche God to bryng both you and me. Amen.

* Rom. xv 4.

+ Blessed are they that hear the

word of God, and keep it.—Luke xi

28

The thyrde

Hermon of Mayster Hugh

Latimer, whiche he preached before
the Kyng wþin hys graces
Palace at Westmister
the. xxii. daye of
Marche.



*Vœcunque scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.** Al thinges
yat are wrytten, are wrytten to be
oure doctrine. Al thinges that be
wrytten in Gods holye Boke the
Byble, were wrytten to be oure doc-
trine longe before our tyme, to
serue from tyme to time, and so forth

to the worldes ende.

Ye shall haue in Remembraunce, mooste benyng
and gracyouse Audience, that a preacher hathe. ii.
offices, and the one to be vſed orderly after an
other.

The fyfte is *Exhortari per sanam doctrinam.*† To
teach true doctrine He shall haue also occation often-
tymes to vſe an other, and that is. *Contradicentes con-
vincere.*† To reprehende to conuynce, to confute
gaynesayers and spurners against the truth.

Whye? you wyll saye, wyll anye bodye gayne saye
true doctryne, and found doctrine? Well, let a
preacher be sure, yat hys doctrine be true, and it is
not to be thought, that anye bodye wil gainesaye it.
If. S. Paule had not forſene that ther shold be gayne-
sayers, he hadde not neade to haue appoynted the
confutation of gaynesayinge.

* Rom. xv. 4.

† [A bishop]. . . that he may exhort and to convince the gainsayers.
be able by sound doctrine both to —Titus i. 9.

Was there euer yet preachers, but ther were gaynsaiars? that spurned? that winst? yat whympered agaynsle him? that blasphemed, that gaynesayed it?

When Moyses came to Egipt wyth founde doctrine, he had Pharao to gaynesay hym. Ieremy was the minister of the true word of God, he had gainsayers the priestes, and the false Prophets borne vp by Achab.

Ely[as] had all Bals priestes supported by Iesabel to speake agaynsle hym.

John Baptiste and our Sauioure Iesus Christe, had the Phariseis, the Scribes, and the priestes gaynsayers to theym. The Apostles, ye Apostles had gayne fayers also, for it was sayd to saynt Paule at Rome. *Notum est nobis quod ubique sectae huic contradicitur.** We knowe that every man doth gaynesaye thys lernyng. After the Apostles time the trueth was gaynesayed with tyrantes, as Nero, Maxentius, Domicianus, and suche lyke, and also by the doctrine of wicked heritikes.

In the popish masse time, ther was no gaynsaiyng, al thynges seemed to be in peace, in a concorde, in a quiet agrement. So longe as we had in adoration, in admiration, the popyshe masse, we were then withoute gaynsaying. What was that?

The same yat Christe speaketh of. *Cum fortis armatus custodierit atrium etc.*† When Sathan the deuyl hath the guydynge of the house, he kepeth all in peace yat is in his possessyon: whan Sathan ruleth, and bereth domynion in open Religyon, as he dyd with vs when we preached pardon matters, purgatory matters and pylgremage matters, al was quiet. He is ware inough, he is wily, and circumspect for stiryng vp any sedicion. When he kepeth his terrytory al is in peace.

Yf there were any manne that preached in England in times past, in the popes tymes, (as peraduenture ther was. ij. or. iij.) straight ways he was taken and naped in ye head wyth the title of an heretique. When

* For as concerning this sect, we know that every where it is spiken against -- Acts xxviii. 22. When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace -- Luke xi. 21.

he hath the religyon in possessyon he sturreth vppe no fedytyon, I warrent yow.

Howe many discentions haue we hearde of in Turkye? But a fewe I warrant you He busyeth hym selfe there wyth no discention. For he hathe there dominion in the open Religion, and neadeth not to trouble hym selfe any further.

The Iewes lyke ronnagates where so euer they dwell (for they be disperst and be tributaries in all contryes where they enhabite) loke ye Heare ye anye heriseis amonge them? But when *fortis superuenerit** when one stronger then the Deuyl, cometh in place, whych is oure Sauioure Iesus Christe, and reueleth hys worde, then the Deuyll roareth, then he bestyrreth hym, then he rayseth diuersitie of opinions to flaunder Gods word. And if euer concord should haue bene in Religion, when shoulde it haue bene but when Christe was here? Ye fynde faulfe wyth preachers, and faye, they cause fediton. We are noted to be raffh, and vndiscrete in our preachynge. Yet as discrete as Christe was ther was diuersitie, yea, what he was him self. For when he asked what men called hym. His Apostles answered him. Some faye, you are Iohan Baptiste, some faye you are Helias, and some faye, you are one of the prophets, and these were they yat spake beste of hym. For some sayed, he was a Samaritane, that he had a Deuyll wythin him, a gloser, a drincker, a pot-companion.

There was neuer Prophet to be compared to him, and yet was ther neuer more discention then when he was, and preached hym selfe.

If it were contraried then, wil ye thynke it shal not be contraryed nowe, when charitie is so colde and iniquitye so stronge. Thus these backebiters, and sclauderers must be conuincid.

Sainte Paule sayed. There shall be intractabiles, that wil whympe and whine, ther shall be also *Vani*

* But when a stronger than he shall come unto him.—Luke xi. 22.

loqui, vayne speakers. For the whyche Saynte Paule appoyneth the preacher to stoppe theyr mouthes and it is a preachers office to be a mouthe stopper.

Thys daye I muste somewhat do in the seconde offyce, I muste be a gaynesayer, and I must stoppe theyr mouthes, conuynce, refell, and confute that, they speake sclauderouslye of me.

There be some gaynesayers gaynesayers, for there be some sclauderouse people, vaynespeakers, and *intractabiles* whych I must nedes speake agaynst.

But fyrste I wyll make a shorte rehearfall to you in memorye of that, that I spake in my laste Sermon. And that done, I wyll confute one that sclaudereth me. For one ther is yat I must nedes answere vnto, for he sclaudereth me for my preachynge before the kynges maiestye. There be some to blame, that when a preacher is wearye, yet they wyll haue hym speake all at once.

Ye must tary till ye here more. Ye must not be offended till ye here the rest. Heare al and then iudge al. What ye are verye hastie, very quicke with youre preachers? But before I enter further into thys matter I shal desire you to praye. etc.

Fyrst of all as touchynge my fyrst sermon, I wyll runne it ouer *curforie*, ryppynge a lytle the matter. I
The Epilo-
ge, or rehearsal
of the fyrste
sermon. brought in an hystorye of the Bible, ex-
 cytinge my audience to beware of bywalk-
 ynges, to walke ordinateleye, playnly, the
 kynges hygh way, and agre to that, which standeth
 wyth the ordre of a Realme.

I shewed you how we were vnder the blisfyng of God, for our kinge is *Nobilis*, I shewed you we haue a noble Kynge. True inheritous to the crowne with out doubte. I shewed furthermore of hys godly education. He hath suche schole Maysters as can not be gotten in all the Realme a gaine. Wherefore we maye
The Kynges
Scolemaст-
ters are pray-
ed. be fuer yat God blessed thys Realme, al-
 though he cursed ye realme, whose ruler
 is a chyld, vnder whom the officers be

climbynge and glenyng, flurynge, scrachynge, and scrapynge, and volupteously set on banketyng and for the maynetenaunce of their volupteoufnes, go by walkes. And althoughe he be yong he hath as good, and as fage a counsayle, as euer was in England, which we maye wel know by their godly procedinges, and settynge fourthe of the worde of God: Therfore lette vs not be worse, then the stiffe necked Iewes. In kinge Iosias tyme, (who beyng yonge dyd alter, chaunge and correcte wonderfully the religion) it was neuer hard in Ieurye that the people repyned or fayed, The kynge is a child. This geare wyl not last long. It is but one or two mens doinges. It wyll tarye but for a tyme. The kynge knoweth it not. Wo worth that euer such men were borne. Take hede lest for our rebellion God take hys blesynge a waye from vs. I entred into the place of the kynges pastyng. I tolde you howe he muste passe hys tyme in readyng the boke of God (for that is the kynges pastyme by gods appoyntement) in the whyche boke he shal lerne to feare God.

Oh howe carefull God is to set in an order all thynges that belong to a kyng, in his chamber, in hys stable, in hys treasure house.

The Coun-
sayle of
Englannde
haue theyr
condyne
and worthye
praye wor-
thely

The people
dyd not re-
pyne agaynst
Kynge Iosy-
as in hys mi-
norite.

This geare
wyl not last long.
It is but one or two mens doinges.
It wyll tarye but for a tyme.
The kynge knoweth it not.
Wo worth that euer such men were borne.
Take hede lest for our rebellion God take hys blesynge a waye from vs.
I entred into the place of the kynges pastyng.
I tolde you howe he muste passe hys tyme in readyng the boke of God (for that is the kynges pastyme by gods appoyntement) in the whyche boke he shal lerne to feare God.

What is a
Prynce lyke
pastyne.

God is care-
full for a kin-
ges house and
the order of the
same.

These peuishe people in this Realme haue nothyng but the kyng, the kinge in theyr mouthes, when it maketh for theyr purpose. As ther was a doctor that preached, the kinges maiesty hath his holy water, he crepeth to the crosse, and then thei haue nothyng but the Kynge the king in their mouthes. These be my good people that muste haue their mouthes stopte, but if a man tel them of the kynges proceadynges, nowe they haue theyr shyftes, and theyr putofs fainge, we maye not go before a lawe, we maye

The kinge is
in every man
nes mouthe
when it ma-
kes for theyr
purpose.

Many
shyftes and
put offs,

breake no order. These be the wicked preachers, ther mouthes muste be flopte, these be the gaynesayers. Another thing ther is yat I told you of, *Ne eleuetur a kynge must cor regis. etc.** The kynge must not be not be proude. proude ouer hys brethren. He must order his people wyth brotherly loue and charitye. Here I broughte in exemplis of proude kynges. It ij Kyndes of pryde in a kyng.

when they wyl not heare, nor be conformable to the sound doctrine of god. It is an other kinde of pride in kynges, when they thynke them selues so high, so lofty, that they disdaine and thinke it not for their honour to heare poore mens caufes Kinges haue clawe backes and docter pyke mote and his fellowe aboute them Clawbackes counsell. them selues. They haue claubackes yat say vnto them. What sir? what nede you to trouble your selfe? take you youre pleasure, hunte, Hauke, daunce, and dallye, let vs a lone: we wyll gouerne and order the commune weale matters well ynoughe.

Wo worth them, they haue bene the roote of al myschife and destruccion in thys Realme. A kynge A kynge must pray as wel as rede ought not only for to reade and study, but also to praye. Let hym borowe example at Salomon, who pleased God hyghlye wyth hys Salomon prayed for wisedome petition, desyringe no worldly thinges, but wisedome, whych God did not onely graunt hym, but because he asked wisedome, he gaue hym manye mo thynges. As ryches, honoure, and such like. Oh, how it pleased God that he asked wisdom? And after he had geuen him this wisedome he sent hym also occasion to vse the same by a couple of strumpets. Here I told an example of a meke kyng, who so continued, vntyll, he came into the company of strange women. He hard them not by meanes, Salomon herd the cau- ses and com- playntes of or by anye other, but in hys owne person, and I thinke verely the natural mother had neuer had her own child if he had

That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren.—Deut. xvii. 19: see text at p. 55.

not herd the cause hym selfe. They were ^{hys people} *Meritrices*. ^{in hys owne persone.} Hoores althoughe some ex-
cufeth ye matter, and say they were but typplers, such as kepe alehouses. But it is but foly to excuse them, feyng ye Iewes were such, and not vnlyke, but thei had theyr stewes and the mayntenaunce of whordom as they had of other vyces. One thyng I must here desier you to reforme my lords. You haue put downe the Stues. But I praye you what is the matter a mended? what a vayleth that? ^{M Latimers request to the lordes for the abolishe-ment of whor-dome} ye haue but changed the place, and not taken the whoredom awaye. God should be honored euery where. For the scripture sayth *Domini est terra et plenitudo eius.** The earth and the land is the Lordes. What place shuld be then within a Christian realme left, for to dishonour God. I must nedes shewe you such newes as I here. For though I fe it not my selfe, notwithstandinge it commeth faster to me then I would wishe. I do as S. Paule doth to the Corinthians *Auditur in vos suprum.*† There is such a whoredome amonge you as is not amonge the gentiles. So lykewise. *Auditur,* I here say, yat ther is such whoredome in Englande as neuer was sene the like. He charged al the Corinthians for one mans offence sayinge. ^{Al the Corin-thians charged for wo-[one?] mans synne} They were al guilty for one mans synne, if they would not correcte and redresse it, but winke at it. Lo, here may you fe how that one mans sinne poluted al Corinth. A litle leauen as S. Paulle sayeth, corrupteth a greate deale of dowe. Thys is, *Communicare alienis Peccatis,*‡ to be partaker of other mens fines I aduertise you in goddes name loke to it. I here say, ther is now more whoredom in London, then euer ther was on the bancke. These be the newes I haue to tell you. I feare they be true. ^{More whore-dom in Lon-don then euer ther was on the banke,}

* The earth is the Lord's, and the *there is* fornication among you.—fullness thereof.—Psa. xxiv. i.

† It is reported commonly that ^{x Cor. v. 1.} ^{‡ Neither be partaker of other men's sins.—1 Tim. v. 22.}

Ye ought to here of it, and redrefies it, I here of it, and as paul sayeth, *Aliqua ex parte credo.**

There is more open whoredome more stuede whoredome then euer was before. For Gods sake let it be loked vpon. It is youre offyce to se vnto it. Now to my confutacion. Ther is a certaine man that shortly after my fyrt sermon, beyng asked if he had Of one that bene at the sermon that day, answered, reported. M. yea : I praye you said he how lyked you Latimer to hym ? mary sayed he, euen as I lyked hym be a sedicio- always, a fedicious fellowe. Oh lord he us fellowe. pinched me ther in dede, nay he had rather a ful bytte at me. Yet I comfort my self with that, that Christ hym selfe was noted to be a sturrer vp of the people against the Emperoure, and was contented to be called fedicouse. It becommeth me to take it in good worthe, Christ was I am not better then he was. In the notyed for a sedicioouse stirrer of the people. kings daies that dead is, a meanye of vs were called together before hym to saye our myndes in certaine matters. In the end one kneleth me downe, How. M. Latimer was accused to oure late kynge of famous memorye. and accuseth me of sedicion, that I had preached fedicouse doctrine. A heuye salutacion, and a harde poynt of suche a mans doyng, as yf I shoulde name hym, Kynge Hen- ye woulde not thinke it. The king turned ry the eygthe to me and sayed. What saye you to that and hys an- swere. syr ? Then I kneled downe, and turned me firste to myne accuser, and requyred hym.

Syr what fourme of preachinge woulde you appoynt me to preache before a Kynge ? Wold you haue me for to preache nothyng as concernynge a Kynge in the Kynges sermon ? Haue you any commyssion to apoynt me what I shal preache. Befydes this, I asked hym dyuers other questions, and he wold make no answere to none of them all. He had nothinge to saye. Then I turned me to the Kynge, and submytted my selfe to hys Grace

* I partly believe it. --- Cor. xi. 12.

and sayed I neuer thought my selfe worthy, nor I neuer sued to be a preacher before ^{His aunswer} youre grace, but I was called to it, and ^{to the kyng.} would be willynge if you mislike me, to geue place to mi betters. For I graunt ther be a great many more worthy of the roume then I am. And if it be your graces pleasure so to allowe them for preachers, I could be content to bere their bokes after them. But if youre grace allowe me for a preacher I woulde desyre your grace to geue me leaue to dyscharge my conscience. Geue me leaue to frame my doctrine accordingy to myne audience. I had byne a veri dolt to haue preached so, at the borders of your realme, as I ^{In preaching we must haue respect to the place and to the persons,} preach before your grace. And I thanke almyghtye God, whych hath all wayes byne my remedy, that my sayinges were well accepted of the kynge, for lyke a gracious Lorde he turned it into a nother communacyon. It is euen as the scripture saieth. *Cor Regis in manu domini.** The Lorde dyrected the kynges hart. Certaine of my frendes came to me wyth teares in theyr eyes, and tolde me, they loked I should haue bene in the tower the same nyghte. Thus haue I euer more bene burdened wyth the worde of sedition. I haue offended God greouously, transgresfyng hys lawe, and but for hys remedy and hys mercy, I woulde not loke to be faued. As for sedicion, for ought that I knowe, me thynkes, I shoulde not nede Christ, if I myght so saye. But if I be cleare in anye thynge, I am cleare in thys. So farre as I knowe myne owne herte, there is no man further from sedicion then I, the whyche I haue declared in al my doynges, and yet it hath bene euer laied to me Another tyme, when I gaue ouer mine office, I should haue receyued a certayne dutye that they cal a Pentecostal, it came to the summe of fyftyne and fyue pound, I sent my commissarye to gather ^{M. Latimer was euer voi de of sedicion and yet styl charged and burde ned therwith.}

^{How. M. La timer hys pen tecostall was de-}

* The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord.—Prov. xxv. 2.

teyned and
ypon what
skyll.

it, but he coulde not be suffered. For it
was fayed a sedicion shoulde ryse vpon it.

Thus they burdened me euer wyth sedicion. So
thys gentilman commeth vp nowe wyth sedicion. And
wote ye what? I chaunced in my laste Sermon to
Of the newe shyllinge speake a merye worde of the new shilling,
to refreshe my auditory, howe I was lyke
to put away my newe shyllinge for an old grote, I
was herein noted to speake sediciously. Yet I conforde
my selfe in one thyng, yat I am not alone, and that I
haue a fellowe. For it is, *Consolatio miserorum*. It
is the conforte of the wretched to haue company.
When I was in trouble, it was obiected an[d] fayed vnto

M. Latimer noted of a syngulare. me, yat I was singular, that no manne
thought as I thought, that I loued a syngu-
laryte in all that I dyd, and that I tooke

a way, contrary to the kynge, and the whole parlia-
mente, and that I was trauayled wyth them, that had
better wyttes then I, that I was contrari to them al.
Marye syr thys was a fore thunder bolte. I thought
it an yrksome thinge to be alone, and to haue no
fellowe. I thoughte it was possyble it myghte not be
true that they tolde me. In the. vii. of Ihon the
Prestes sente oute certayne of the Iewes to bring
Christ vnto them vyoentlye. When they came into
the temple, and harde hym preache, they were so
moued wyth his preachynge, that they returned home
agayne, and fayed to them that sente them. *Nun-
quam sic locutus est homo ut hic homo.** There was
neuer man spake lyke this man. Then answered the
Pharises *Num et uos seducti estis?*† What ye brain-

A paraphra-
stical exposi-
tion. fycke fooles, Ye hoddly peckes, Ye doddye
poules, ye buddes, do ye beleue hym?
are you seduced also? *Num quis ex Prin-*

cipibus credidit in eum?‡ Did ye se anye greate man,
or anye great offycer take hys part? doo ye se any
boddy follow hym, but beggerlye sythers, and suche as

* Never man spake like this man. † Have any of the rulers or of the
John vii. 46. Pharisees believed on him?—Ver. 42.
Are ye also deceived?—Ver. 43.

haue nothyng to take to? *Num quis ex Phariseis?* Doo ye se anye holy man? any perfect man? any learned man take hys parte? *Turba quæ ignorat legem execrabilis est.** Thys laye people is accursed, it is they that know not the lawe, that takes hys parte, and none elles.

Lo here the Pharises hadde nothyng to choke the people, wyth al, but ignoraunce. They dyd as our byshoppes of Englande, who vprebrayded the people al wayes wyth ignoraunce, where they were the cause of it themselues. There were fayeth saint Iohn. *Multi ex principibus, qui crediderunt in eum.*† Many of the chyefe menne beleued in hym, and that was contrarye to the Phariseys sayinge. Oh then by lyke they belyed him, he was not alone.

So thoughte I, there be more of myne opinion then I, I thought I was not alone. I haue nowe gotten one felowe more, a companyon of sedition, and wot ye who is my felow? Esai the Prophete, I speake but of a lytle preaty shyllynge. But he speaketh to Hierusalem after an other sorte, and was so bold to meddle with theyr coine. Thou proude, thou couetouse, thou hauyng cytye of Hierusalem. *Argentum tuum uersum est in scoriam.*‡ Thy syluer is turned into, what? into testyons? *Scoriam,*‡ into droffe. Ah sedicioouse wretche, what hadde he to do wyth the mynte? Why shoulde not he haue leste that matter to some mayster of policy to reprove?

Thy Syluer is droffe, it is not fyne, it is counterfayte, thy siluer is turned, you haddest good syluer. What pertained that to Esay? Mary he espyed a peice of diuinity in that polici, he threatneth them goddes vengaunce for it. He went to the rote of the matter, whych was couetousnes. He espyed two pointes in it, that eythere it came of couet-

The byshop-
pes called
the people ig-
norauant and
they were the
cause of it
them selues.

M Latimer
hath gotten
Esay the pro-
phet to be his
companion
in sedicion.

Marke well
thys terme.

Esay med-
led wyth the
coyne of the
mynt.

into droffe.

Two causes
whye money

* But this people who knoweth not believed on him.—John xii. 42.
the law are cursed.—John vii. 49. † Thy silver is become dross.—

† Among the chief rulers also many Isa. i. 22.

in Essayes
tyme was
more baser
and worse.

ousnesse, whych became hym to reprove, or els that it tended to the hurte of the pore people, for the naughtines of the syluer, was the occasion of dearth of all thynges in 'he Realme. He imputeth it to them as a greate cryme. He may be called a mayster of sedicion in dede. Was not thys a sedyciouse harlot to tell them thys to theyr beardes? to theyr face.

Thys fediciouse man goeth also forthe, sayinge. *Vinum tuum mixtum est aqua.** Thy wyne is mynged wyth water. Here he medeleth with vinteners, be like ther were bruers in those dayes, as ther be nowe.

It had bene good for our missal priestes to haue dwelled in that contrye, for they might haue bene sure to haue hadde theyre wyne wel myngled wyth water. I remembre howe scrupulouse I was in my tyme of blyndnesse and ignorancye, when I shuld faye masse, I haue put in water twyse or thryse for faylynge, in so muche when I haue bene at my Memento, I haue had a grudge in my consycience, fearynge that I hadde not putte in Watter ynough.

Essaye spoke
of one vyce
but he mente
yt of mo.

And that which is here spoken of wine, he meaneth it of al actes in the cytye, of al kindes of faculties, for they haue al theyr medles and mynglynges. That he speaketh of one thynge, he meaneth generally of al. I must tell you more newes yet.

Cloth ma-
kers are be-
come Potica-
ries, yea and
amonge the
Gospellers.
poticaries

I here faye, there is a certayne connyng come vp in myxyng of wares.

Howe faye you, were it not wonder to here that clothe makers should become

Yea and as I heare faye, in suche a place, where as they haue professed the Gospell, and the word of God most earnestly of a longe tyme. Se how busie the

* Thy wine mixed with water.—Isa. 5. 22.

Denell is to sclauder the word of god? Thus the pore gospel goeth to wracke. Yf his clothe be xvii. yerdes longe, he wyl set hym on a racke, and streach hym out wyth ropes, and racke hym tyll the senewes shrinke a gayne, whyles he hath brought hym to xxvii. yarde. When they haue brought him to that perfection, they haue a prety feate to thycke him againe. He makes me a pouder for it, an[d] playes the poticary, thei cal it floke pouder they do so in corporate it to the cloth, that it is wonderfull to consider, truely a goodly inuention.

A pretti kind
of multiply-
inge.

Flocke pow-
der.

Oh that so goodly wittes shold be so yl applyed, they maye wel deceyue the people but they can not deceyue God. They were wont to make beddes of flockes and it was a good bed to, nowe they haue turned theyr flockes into a pouder to playe the false theaues with it. O wicked deuil what can he inuent to blasphem Goddes worde? These myxtures come of couetousnes. Thei are playne theft. Woo worthe that these flockes should so slander the worde of God.

These mix-
tures and
multipliyin-
ges are theft.

As he saied to the Iewes, thy wyne is myngled wyth water, so myghte he haue sayed to vs of thys Lande. Thy clothe is myngeled wyth flockepouder. He goeth yet on. Thys sedicioouse man reproueth thyshonorable cytye, and saied. *Principes tui infideles.** Thou land of Hierusalem, thy magystrates, thy Judges are vnfaythfull, they kepe no touche, they wyl talke of many gaye thinges, they wil pretende this and that, but thei kepe no promise. Thei be worsse then vnfaythfull, he was not afraied to call the offycers vnfaythful. *Et socii furum.** Fellowes of theues, for theues and theues fellowes, be all of one sorte They were wonte to saye. Aske my felowe yf I be a thyefe. He calleth prynces theues. Why, ar[e] prynces theues? What a sedicioouse harlot

Enny was
somwhat ho-
mely: when
he calleth the
magystrates
vnfaythful
and fellowes
of theues.

* Thy prynces are rebellious, and companions of theues — Isa. i. 23.

was thys? was he worthi to liue in a commune wealth that would cal prynces on yat wyse, felowes of theues? Had they a standynge at shooters hyl, or Stangat hole to take a pourse? Why? dyd they stande by the hyghe waye syde Dyd they robbe? or breake open any mans house or dore? No no.

Ther are two kynde of theuynges, a grosse kynde of theuynges and a princelly kynde of theuynges.

Brybery is a kynde of theauynges.

Brybes haue gotten a new name and vnder a couloure are callyd gentyl rewardes, but that is not theyr chrysten name.

We are worse then the stiffe necked Iewes.

preachinge, It behoueth the magistrates to be in credite, and therfore it might semme yat Esay was to blame to speake openli against the Magistrates.

The good wyl not spurne nor kycke at the preacher.

So it faryth by a galled Horse.

That is a grosse kind of theuynge. They were princes, they had a pryncely kynde of theueynges. *Omnes diligunt munera.** They al loue brybes. Brybery is a pryncely kynde of theuing. Thei wil be waged by the rich, eyther to geue sentence agaynst the poore, or to put of the poore mannes causes. This is the noble theste of princes, and of magistrates. Thei are bribetakers. Nowe a dayes they call them gentle rewardes, let them leaue their colouryng, and cal them by their Christian name. Brybes. *omnes diligunt munera.** Al, al all the prynces, all the Judges, all the Prestes, all rulers are brybers. What?

were all the magistrates in Ierusalem, all brybe takers? none good? No doubte there were some good, This word *omnes*, signifeth the mooste parte, and so there be some good I doubt not of it in Englande.

But yet we be farre worse then those stynge-necked Iewes. For we reade of none of them yat wised, or kicked agaynst Esaias, or sayd yat he was a feditiouse fellowe. It behoueth the magistrates to be in credite, and therfore it might semme yat Esay was to blame to speake openli against the Magistrates. It is very sure that they that be good wyl beare, and not spourne at the preachers, they that be fautye they muste amende, and neyther spourne, nor wynce, nor whyne. He that fyndeth hym felte touched or galled, he declareth hym selfe not to be vpryghte.

* Every one loveth gifts.—Isa. i. 23.

Wo worth these giftes, they subuert iustyce euerye where. *Sequuntur retribuções.** They folow bribes. Some what was geuen to them before, and they misstnedes geue somewhat againe, for giffe gafe was a good felow, this gyffe gaffe led them clene from iustice. Thei folow giftes.

Gyffe Gaffe
was a good
fellowe.

A good fellow on a tyme had an other of hys frendes to a breakefaste, and fayed: Yf you wyl come you shalbe welcome, but I tel you afore hande, you shal haue but sclender fare, one dish and that is al, what is that fayed he? A puddynge, and nothyng els. Mary fayed he, you cannot please me better, of all meates that is for myne owne toth, you may draw me round about the town with a pudding. These brybyng magystrates, and iudges folow giftes faster, then the fellow woulde followe the puddynge.

A good fel-
low was bid-
den to a break-
fast to a pud-
dynge.

They follow
bribes as
fast as the fe-
low dyd the
puddynge.

I am contente to beare the title of sedicion wyth Esai. Thankes be to God, I am not alone I am in no singularytye. This fame man that layed sedycyon thus to my charge, was asked an other tyme, whether he were at the sermon at Paules crosse, he aunswered that he was ther, and beyng asked what news ther. Mary quod he, wonderful newes, we were ther cleane absoluued, my Mule and al had ful absolucion, ye may se by thys, that he was suche a one that rode on a mule and that he was a gentylman.

Of the stout
skorneful
gentil man
which sayed
that he and hys
Mule had
ful absolucion
at Paules
Crosse:

In dede hys Mule was wyser then he, for I dare faye, the Mule nevere sclaudered the Preacher. Oh what an vnhappy chaunce had thys Mule to carye suche an Asse vpon hys backe. I was there at the sermon my selfe, in the ende of hys sermon he gaue a generall absolucion, and as farre as I remember these, or suche other lyke were hys wordes, but at the leaste I am sure, thys was hys meanyng. As manye as do knowledge your felues to be synners, and confess the same and standes not in de-

The preach-
ers wordes
in hys abso-
lucion.

* And followeth after rewards.—Isa. i. 23.

fence of it, and hartelye abhorreth it, and wil beleue in the death of christ, and be conformable therunto, *Ego absoluo uos*, quod he. Now fayeth thygentylman, his mule was absoluued. The preacher absoluued but suche as were forye, and dyd repente. Be lyke then Mule.

she dyd repente her stumblyng, hys Mule was wyser then he a greate deale. I speake not of worldely wysdome, for therin he is to wyse, yea, he is so wyse, that wyse men maruayle, howe he came truly by the tenth part of that he hath. But in wis-

The mystre-
port of. M.
Latimer is
worldlye
wyse but in
godlye mat-
ters as blind
as a beatael.

dome which consisteth *In rebus dei*, *In rebus salutis*, in godlye matters and appar-
taynyng to oure saluacion, in this wysdome he is a blynd as a beatel. They be. *Tan-
quam equus et Mulus, in quibus non est
intellectus.** Like Horses and Mules, that

haue no vnderstandyng. If it were true that the Mule repented hyr of her stumbling I thynke she was better

A charitable
whysse of
M. Latimer
How tender
and deynety
eared men of
these dayes
be, that had
rather com-
myt. xx. fau-
tes then here
tel of one.

absoluued then he. I praye God stop his mouth, or els to open it to speke better, and more to hys glory. An other man quickned wyth a word I spoke (as he fayed opprobriouslye agaynst the nobility that theyr chyldren dyd not set forth Gods worde, but were vnpreachynge prelates) was offended wyth me.

Poore mens sonnes for the most part haue euer traueld aboue the set-
tynge forth of Goddes worde.
Iohannes Alasco.

I did not meane so, but that some noble mens chyldren had set forth Goddesworde, howe be it the poore mens sonnes haue done it alwayes for the mooste parte. Iohannes Alasco was here a greate learned man, and as they faye, a noble man in his contrye, and is gone hys way a gayne, if it be for lacke of intertaynement, the more pytye. I woulde wyfhe suche men as he to be in the realme, for the realme shoulde prospere in re-
ceyuyng of them. *Qui uos recipit, me recipit.*† Who

* As the horse, or as the mule, which have no understanding —Psa. me. Matt. x. 40.
xxxii. 9.

† He that receiveth you receiveth

receyueth you receiueth me (sayed christ) and it shuld be for the kynges honour to receyue them and kepe them. I heardsaye Mayster Melancton, that greate clarke, shoulde come hyther. I woulde wyshe hym, and suche as he is, to haue CC. [two hundred] pound a yere. The king shold neuer wante it in hys coffers at the yeres ende. There is yet among vs. ii. great learned men Petrus Martyr, and Bernardine, whych haue a. C. [hundred] marckes a pece. I woulde the Kynge wold bestowe a thousand pound on that fort. Nowe I wil to my place againe. In the later ende of my sermon I exhorted judges to heare the small as wel as the great. *Iuste quod iustum est iudicare.* You must not onelye do iustice, but do it iustlye, you muste obserue all the circumstancies. You must geue iustice, and minister iust iudgemente in time.

It is honor-
able for the
Kynge to
be munifi-
cial and lyber-
al towards
the learned.

Petrus mar-
tyr and Bar-
nardine Och-
ine.

For the delayinge of matters of the poore folke, is as synfull before the face of god as wrong iudgemente. I rehersed here a parable of a wycked Judge, whiche for importunitiess sake, herde the poore womans cause, et. cetera.* Here is a comfortable place, for al you that crye oute and are oppressed, for you haue not a wycked iudge, but a mercifull iudge to call vnto. I am not so ful of folyshe pytye, but I can consider well ynoughe, that some of you complayne with out a cause. They wepe, they wayle, they mourne I am sure some not wyth out a cause. I dyd not here reprove all iudges, and finde iuste wyth all. I thinke we haue some as painfull magistrates, as euer was in Eng- lande, but I wyl not fweare they be all so, and they that be not of the best, muste be

The parable
of the wicked
judge.

Some as
paynful mag-
istrates in
Englante as
euer was.

* There was in a city a judge, which feared not God, neither regarded man:

And there was a widow in that city: and she came unto him, saying, Avenge me of mine adversary.

And he would not for a while: but afterward he said within himself, Though I fear not God, nor regard man

Yet because this woman troubleth me, I will avenge her, lest by her continual coming she weary me.

And the Lord said, Hear what the unjust judge saith.

And shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day and night unto him, though he bear long with them?

I tell you that he will avenge them speedily.--Luke xviii. 2-8.

A good lesson for such as are magistrates, but none of the best.

contente to be taught, and not dislayne to be reprehended. David sayeth. *Ereditimini qui iudicatis terram.** I refer it to youre conscience.

*Vos qui iudicatis terram.** Ye that be judges on the earth, whether ye haue heard poore mens causes wyth expedicion or no, Yf ye haue not, then *eruditimini*, be content to be touched, to be tolde.

You wydowes, you orphanes, you poore people, here is a confortable place for you.

Thoughe these Judges of the world wyll not heare you, there is one wyl be content with your importunitye, he wyll remedye you, if you come after a ryghte sorte vnto him.

Ye say. The Judge doth blame you for youre importunitye, it is yrckesome vnto him. He entered into this parable to teache you to be importune in your petityon. *Non desatigari.* not to be weri.

How and by what meanes we shuld resorte to God in aduersitie

Here he teacheth you, how to come to god in aduersitie, and by what meanes, whyche is by prayer. I do not speake of the meryte of Christ, For he sayeth. *Ego sum via.*†

qui credit in me, habet vitam eternam.‡ Who so bclueth in me hath euerlastynge lyfe. But when we are come to Christ, what is our way to remydy aduersitie? in anguylshe, in tribulacions? in our necessites? in our iniuries? The waye is prayer.

We are taught by the commaundement of God. *Inuoca me in die tribulationis et ego eripiam te.*§ Thou wyddowe, thou orphane, thou fatherine chylde, I speake to the that hast no frendes to healpe the, call vpon me in the daye of thy trybulation, cal vpon me, *Ego eripiam te.*§

The swete promyse of Christe: I wyll plucke the a waye, I wyl delyuer the, I wyl take the a waye, I wyll releue the, thou shalte haue thy hertes desyre. Here is the promyse,

* Be instructed, ye judges of the earth.—Psa. ii. 10.

§ Call upon me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.—Psa. l. 15.

† I am the way.—John xiv. 6.

‡ He that believeth on me hath everlasting life.—John vi. 47.

here is the comfort. *Glorificabis me.** Thanke me, accepte me for the author of it, and thanke not thys creature or that for it. Here is the Iudge of al Judges, come vnto hym, and he wyll heare you. For he saith, *quicquid petieritis patrem in nomine meo.* etc.† What so euer ye aske my father in my name, shall be geuen you thorough my merytes. You my rable people that are wronged in the world, aske of my father in your distresses, but put me a fore, looke you come not wyth bragges of youre owne merytes ^{The order of our prayer and askynge.} but come in my name, and by my meryte.

He hath not the properte of thys stout Iudge, he wyl beare your importunatenes, he wyll not be angrye at your cryinge and calling. The prophet saith. *Sperauerunt in te Patres nostri, et exaudiuisti illos.*‡ Thou god thou god, our fathers dyd crye vpon the, and thou heardest them. Arte thou not oure God as well as theyres. Ther is nothinge more pleasaunte to God, then for to putte hym in remembraunce of hys goodnes shewed vnto our forefathers. It is ^{What God woulde here of vs and wherin he deluty.} a pleasaunte thynge to tell God of the benefytes that he hath done before oure tyme.

Go to Moyses, who hadde the guydynge of Goddes people, se howe he vsed prayer, as an instrumente to be delyuered out of aduersitie, when he hadde greate roughe mountaynes on euerye side of hym, and before hym the redde sea, Pharaos hoste behynde hym, peril of death round about him. What did he? dispayred he? no, Whyther went he? He repayred to god with this prayer, and sayed nothing. Yet with a great ardency of sp[i]rit he perced gods earres. Now helpe or neuer good lord, now helpe, but in thi hand quod he. Though he neuer moued his lyppes, yet the scripture sayeth he cryed out and the lord heard hym, and sayd, *quid clamas ad me?*§ Why cryest thou oute so loude? the people

* Thou shalt glorify me. — Psa. l. 15. trusted, and thou didst deliver them.

† Whatsoever ys shall ask the Fa- — Psa. xxii. 4.
ther in my name, he will give *it* you. § Wherefore criest thou unto me?
— John xvi. 25. — Exod. xiv. 15.

‡ Our fathers trusted in thee: they

heard him say nothynge, and yet God fayed. Why
 Exodi. xiii. criest thou out. Straight wayes he stroke
 the water with hys rodde, and it deuided, and stode
 vp lyke two walles on eyther syde, betwene the whyche
 goddes people passed, and the persecutours were
 Iosue was drowned. Iosue was in angwyshe, and
 in anguyshe and distresse lyke distresse at Iericho, that true captayne,
 and prayed, that fayethfull Iudge no follower of retribi-
 tions, no brybe taker, he was no money manne,
 who made hys petition to almyghty God to shewe him
 the cause of hys wrath toward hym, when hys army
 was plaged after the takynge of Ierycho. So he ob-
 tayned hys prayer, and learned, that for one mannes
 For Acans faulthe al the reste were punyshed. For
 couetu- Achans couetuousnes many a thousande
 ousnes, many were in agony, and feare of deathe, who
 a thousande hyd his money, as he thought from God.
 punyshed.
 Iosue. vii. But God fawe it well ynough, and brought it to lyght.

Thys Achan was a bywalker. Wel, it came to
 passe, when Iosua knewe it, strayghtwayes he purged
 the army, and tooke a waye. *Malum de Israel*, that is
 wyckednes from the people. For Iosua called him
 before the people, and fayed. *Dagloriam deo.** Gyue
 Iosue put A- prayse to God, tell trothe man, and forth-
 chan to wyth he tolde it. And then he and all
 death. Iosue. vii. hys house suffered deathe.

A goodly ensample for al magistrates to followe.
 Here was the execution of a true Judge he was no
 Paralo. xx. gyfte taker, he was no wynker, he was no
 bywalker. Also when the Assirians with an innumerable
 power of men in Iosaphates time overflowed the lande of
 Israel. Iosaphate that good king goeth me strayght to
 god, and made his praier *Non est in nostra fortitudine* said
 he, *huic populo resistere*,† it is not in our strength, O
 Lord, to resist this people, and after his praier God de-
 liuered hym, and at the same tyme. x. M. [ten thousand]
 were destroyed. So ye miserable people, you must go to
 God in anguishes, and make your prayer to hym.

* Give ... glory to the Lord God great company that cometh against
 of Israel. — Josh. vii. 19. us — a Chron. x. 12.

† We have no might against this

Arme your selues wyth prayer in your aduersities. Manye begyn to praye, and sodaynelye caste awaye prayer, the Deuyll putteth fuche phantafyes in theyr heades, as thoughe God coulde not entend them, or had somewhat els to do.

But you must be importune and not werye, nor caste awaye prayer. Naye you muste caste awaye synne. God wyll heare your prayer, albeit, you be synners, I send you a iudge yat wyll be glad to heare you. You that are oppressed, I speake to you. Christ in this parable doth painte the good wyl of god towarde you, o miserable people, he that is not receiued, let him not dyspayre nor thinke yat god hath forsaken him. For god tarieth tyl he seith a time, and better can do al thinges for vs, than we our selues can wish.

There was a wycked Iudge etc. What meaneth it that God boroweth thys parable rather of a wycked Iudge, then of a good? Bylyke good iudges were rare at that tyme, and trowe ye the deuyll hath bene aslepe euer sence? no, no. He is as busy as euer he was. The commune maner of a wycked Iudge is, neyther to feare god nor man. He considereth what a man he is, and therefore he careth not for man bycause of hys pride.

He loketh hye ouer the poore, he wyll be hadde in admiration, in adoration. He semeth to be in a protection. Well, shall he scape? Ho, ho, *et deus in caelo.** There is a God in heauen, he accepteth no persones, he wyll punishe theim.

Ther was a pore woman came to thys iudge, and sayd. *vindeca me de aduersario.*† Se that myne aduersari do me no wronge. He would not heare her but droue her of. She had no money to wage eyther him eyther them that were a boute hym. Dyd thys

Many begin to praye, but few perseuer and continue in pray-er.

Caste awaye synne and then praye.

A notable less-
on for him whi-
che prayeth.

The common
maner of a
wycked
Iudge.

* God is in heaven.—Eccles. v. 2.

† Avenge me of mine adversary.—
Luke xviii. 5—see text at p. 91.

Whether
Christian
people maye
sake to be au-
enged

woman wel to be auenged of her aduer-
sarye? maye Christyan people teke venge-
aunce? The Lord saith. *mihi vindictam
et ego retribuam.** When ye reueng ye
take myne office vpon you.

Thys is to be vnderstande of priuate vengeaunce. It is lawful for goddes flocke to vse meanes to put awaye wronges, to resorte to iudges, to requyre to haue sentence geue of ryght. Saynte Paule sente to Actes xxii. Lisiias the tribune to haue thys ordinary remedy, and Christe also sayd. *Si male locutus sum
etc.*† If I haue spoken euyl rebuke me? christ here Math xxvi. answered for him self. Note here my Lordes and maisters what case poore wydowes and orphanes be in.

I wyll tell you my Lordes Judges, yf ye consider thys matter well, ye shoulde be more a frayed of the pore wyddowe, then of a noble manne wyth all the frendes and power that he can make. But now a dayes the Judges be a fraied to heare a poore man agaynst the rych, in so muche, they wyll eyther pronounce agaynst hym, or so drive of the poore mannes sute, that he shall not be able to go thorowe wyth it. The greatest man in a realme can not so hunte a Judge as the poore wyddow, suche a shrewede turne she can do him. And with what armure I praye you.

The maner
of our Juges
nowe a
dayes in hear-
yng of the
pore: against
the ryche.

She can bringe the Judges skynne ouer hys eares, and neuer lay handes vpon hym. And how is that? *Lachrimae miserorum
descendunt ad maxillas* the teares of the poore fall downe vpon theyr checkes, *Et ascendunt ad
celum*, and go vp to heauen, and cry for vengeaunce before god, the iudge of wyddowes, the father of the widowes and orphanes. Pore people be oppressed euen by lawes. *Vae iis qui condunt leges iniquas.*† wo worth to

* Vengeance is mine: I will repay, of the evil.—John xviii. 30.
saith the LORD.—Rom. xii. 19. † Woe unto them that decree un-
righteous decrees!—Isa. x. 1.
† If I have spoken evil, bear witness

them that make euil lawes. If wo be to them yat make laws against ye poore, what shal be to them yat hynder and mare good laws? *quid facietis in die ultionis.** What wyl ye do in the daye of vengeance, when God wyl visyt you? He sayeth, he wyl heare the teares of poore women when he goeth on visitacion. For theyr sakes he wyl hurte the Judge, be he neuer so highe. *Deus transfert regna.* He wyll for wyddowes sakes chaunge Realmes, brynghe them into subiection. plucke ye Iudges skinnes ouer theyr heades.

Cambifes was a greate Emperoure, fuche Cambises. an other as oure mayster is, he had many Lorde depu-
ties, Lord presidentes, and Leutenautes vnder hym. It
is a greate whyle a go sythe I reade the hystory. It
chaunced he hadde vnder hym in one of hys domi-
nions a bryber, a gyft taker, a gratifier of rytche men, he
folowed gyftes, as fast as he that folowed the puddynge,
a hande maker in hys office, to make his
sonne a great man, as the old sayinge is,
Happye is the chylde, whose father goeth
to the Deuyll.

The crie of the poore widdow came to
the Emperours eare, and caused him to
slay the Judge quycke, and laied his skinne
in hys chayre of Iudgemente, that all
Judges, that shoulde gyue Iudgement
afterwarde, shoulde sytte in the same
skinne Surely it was a goodly sygne, a goodly monu-
ment, the sygne of the Judges skynne, I
we maye once se the sygne of the skynne
in Englande. Ye wyll saye peraduenture
that thys is cruelye and vncharitablye
spoken, no, no, I do it charitably for a loue
I bere to my contrye. God sayeth. *Ego*
visitabo.† I wyll visite. God hath two
visitations. The fyfste is, when he reueleth

And old soth
say, but thou-
ghte the say-
inge be none
of the newist
I feare me
yet it is it one
of the trwest.

The brybing
Judge was
slayed quicke
and hys skyn
layed in hys
chayre.

I praye God

Amen. onels
we pray god
we may haue
such incorrup-
tible judges
as wyll not
desyre it.

God hath. ii.
visitationes

* What will ye do in the day of visitation?—Isa. x. 3.

his word by preachers and where the fyfste is accepted, the seconde commeth not.

The seconde visitation is vengeance. He wente a visitatyon, when he broughte the iudges skynne ouer hys eares. If hys worde be despised he commeth wyth hys seconde visitation with vengeance.

Noe preach-
ed Godes
worde an. C.
yeares and
was called
a foole for
hys labour

[hundred] yeares, and was laughte to
sckorne, and called an olde dotyng fole.
Bycause they would not accepte thys iyrste
visitation, God visited the second tyme he
poured downe showeres of rayne tyll all the worlde was
drowned.

Genesis xix. Loth was a visitour of Sodome, and Gomorre, but because they regarded not hys preachynge, God visited theym the seconde tyme, and brente theym all vp wyth brymstone fauyng Loth. Moyses *Exodi: vi.* came fyrist a visitation into Egypce with goddes word, and because they woulde not here hym, God visited them agayne, and drowned theym in the redde sea, God lykewyse with his first visitation visited ye Israelits by his prophetes, but because they woulde not heare his Prophetes, he visited them the seconde tyme, and dispersed them in Assiria and Babylon.

John Baptiste lykewyse and oure Sauioure Christe visited theym after warde declarynge to them Goddes wyll, and bycause they despised these visitours, he destroyed Hierusalem by Titus and Vespasianus.

*Germany
made a myn-
gle mangle
of theyr raly-
gion.* Germany was visited. xx. yeares wyth goddes word, but they dyd not earnestlye embrace it, and in lyfe folowe it, but made a myngle mangle and a hotchpotch of it.

I can not tell what, partly poperye, partelye true religion mingled together. They say in my contrye, when they cal theyr hogges to the swyne troughe. Come to thy myngle mangle, come pyr, come pyr, euen so they made mingle mangle of it.

They coulde clatter and prate of the Gospell, but when all commeth to al, they ioyned poperye so wyth

it, that they marde all together, they scratched and scraped all the lyuynges of the churche, and vnder a couloure of religyon turned it to theyr owne proper gayne and lucre. God, seynge that they woulde not come vnto hys worde, now he visiteth them in the seconde tyme of hys visitacion with his wrathe. For the takynge awaye of Goddes word, is a manyfest token of hys wrath. We haue now a fyrt visitacyon in Englande, let vs beware of the ieconde. We haue the mynystracyon of hys worde, we are yet well, but the houise is not cleane: swepte yet.

Couetousnes
cloaked vnder
a couloure of
religyon a-
mongest the
Germaynes
prouokyd
Goddes
wrath to-
ward them

God hath sente vs A noble Kynge in thys hys vyfytacion, let vs not prouoke hym against vs, let vs be ware, lette vs not dyiplease hym, let vs not be vntankefull, and vnkynde, lette vs be ware of bywalkynge and contemnyng of Gods worde, let vs praye dylygently for our kynge, let vs receyue wyth all obedience and praier, the worde of God. A worde or twoo more and I commyte you to God. I wyll monyshe you of a thyng. I heare saye ye walke inordinatelye, ye talke vnsemelye other wayes then it becommeth Christian subiectes.

Yetake vpon you to Iudge the Iudgementes of Iudges, I wyll not make the kynge a Pope, for the Pope wyl haue al thynges that he doth, taken for an Article of oure fayth.

I wyl not saye but that the kynge, and hys councell maye erre, the Parliamente houisies both the hyghe and lowe maye erre. I praye dayely that they maye not erre.

It becommeth vs what soeuer they decree to stande vnto it, and receyue it obedyentlye, as farre forthe as it is not manyfeste wycked, and dyrectlye agaynst the woerde of God, it pertayneth vnto vs to thynkethe beste, thoughe we can not tender a cause for the doyng of euery thyng.

Let vs learne
here our alle-
gyance and
duty toward
the kynge
the lawes
and ordi-
nauncys of
the Realme.

For *Charitas omnia credit, omnia sperat.** Charitye dothe beleue and trust al thinges. We ought to expounde to the beste al thynges, althoughe wee canne not yelde a reason.

Therefore I exhorte you good people pronounce in good parte al the facte and dedes of the magistrates and judges. Charyte iudgeth the best of al men, and spe-
callye of magystrates. S. Paule sayeth. *Nolite iudi-
care ante tempus donec dominus aduenerit.*† Judge not before the tyme of the lordes commynge. *Prauum
cor hominis.*‡ Mans hart is vnferchable, it is a ragged
pece of worke, no man knoweth hys owne hart, and

Psalm. i. therfore Dauid praieth and saith *Ab oc-
cultis meis munda me.*§ Delyuer me from my vnownen
faultes. I am a further offender then I can se. A
man shalbe blynded in loue of him self, and not se
so much in him selfe as in other men, let vs not therfore
iudge judges. We are comptable to god, and so be
they. Let them alone, they haue theyr countes to
make. Yf we haue charytie in vs we shal do this For
Charitas operatur. Charitie worketh. What worketh
it? marye *Omnia credere, omnia sperare.** to accept al
thynges in good part. *Nolite iudicare ante tempus.*†

Judge not before the Lordes commynge. In this
How Anti- we learne to know Antichrist, whych doth
christe is kno- eleuate hym selfe in the churche, and
wen. iudgeth at his pleasure before ye time.

Hys canonizasions and iudging of men before the
lordes judgment, be a manyfest token of Antichrist.
How can he know? Sayntes? He knoweth not hys
owne hart, and he can not knowe then by myracles.
For some myracle workers shall go to the deuyl. I
wil tel you what I remembred yester nyghte in my bed.
A meruaylous tale to perceyue, how inscrutable a mans
herte is. I was once at Oxford, (for I hadde occayson
to come that waye, when I was in my offyce,) they

* [Charity] believeth all things, hopeth all things.—1 Cor. xiii. 7.

† Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come.—1 Cor. iv. 5.

‡ The heart is deceitful above all things.—Jer. xvii. 9.

§ Cleanse thou me from all sinnes.—Psa. xix. 12.

tolde me it was a gayner way, and a fayrer waye, and by that occasion I lay ther a nyght. Beying ther, I hard of an execution that was done vpon one what he saw and harde that suffered for treason. It was as (ye once at know) a dangerous worlde, for it myghte Oxfordre. foone cost a man hys lyfe for awordes speakynge.

I can not tel what the matter was, but the iudge set it so out that the man was condemned. The xii. men came in, and sayed gyltye, and vpon that, he was iudged to be hanged, drawen, and quartred. When the rope was about hys necke, no man coulde perswade hym that he was in anye faute, and stooode there a great whyle in the protestation of his innocency. They hanged hym and cut him down somwhat to soone afore he was cleane deade, then they drewe hym to the fyre, and he reuied, and then he commyng to his remembraunce confessed his faute, and sayed he was gylty. O a wonderful example, it may well be sayed. *prauum cor hominis et inscrutabile.** A crabbed pece of worke and vnsercheable. I wyll leue here, for I thinke you know what I meane wel ynough.

I shal not neede to applye thys example any further. As I began euer with thys saying *quæcunque scripta sunt,*† like a trouant and so I haue a commune place to the ende, yf my memory fayle me, *Beati qui audiunt verbum dei, et custodiunt illud.*‡ Blessed be they that here the word of god, and kepe it. It must be kepte in memory, in lyuynge, and in our conuersacion. An yf we so do, we shal come to the blessednes,

whych God prepared for

vs thorow his son-

ne Iefus Christ,

to ye which he

bring vs

all.

Amen.

* The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked. † Rom. xv. 4.
—Jer. xvii. 9. ‡ Luke xi. 22.

The fourth

Sermon of Mayster Hughe

Latimer, whych he prached before
the kynges Maiestye wythin
hys Graces Palacie at
Westminster the
xxix. daye of
Marche.



*Vacumque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt** All thinges yat
are wrytten, are written, to be our
doctrine. The Parable that I toke
to begin with (most honorable audience)
is wrytten in the. xviii. chapter
of S. Luke. and ther is a certayne
remnant of it behind yet. The

Parable is this There was a certayne Iudge in a cytē,
that feared neyther God nor man.

And in the same cytē there was a wyddowe that
requyred Iustyce at hys handes, but he woulde not
heare hyr, but putte hyr of and delayed the matter.

In processe the Iudge seyng hyr importunitye,
sayed, though I feare neyther God nor manne, yet
for the importunitye of the womanne, I wyll heare hyr
leaste she rayle vpon me, and moleste me wyth exclama-
tions, and oute cryes I wyll heare hyr matter, I
wyll make an ende of it.

Oure Sauyoure Christie added more vnto thys and
sayed. *Audite quid iudex dicat. et cetera.* Heare you
sayed Christ, what the wycked Iudge sayed.

And shall not God reuenge hys electe, that crye
vpon hym daye and nyghte? Al though he tarye
and dysferre theym, I say vnto you, he wyll reuenge

* Rom. xv. 4

them and that shortelye. But when the sonne of manne shall come, shall he fynd fayth in the earth.*

That I maye haue grace so to open the remnaunte of thys parable that it maye be to the glorye of God, and edifyng of youre soules, I shall desier you to praye. In the whyche prayer. etc.

I shewed you the lafte daye, (mooste honourable Audience) the cause why oure Sauioure Christe, rather vied the example of a wycked Iudge then of a good.

And the cause was for that in those dayes ther was greate plentye of wycked Iudges, so that he myght borrowe an example amonge theym well ynoughe. For there was muche scarfitie of good Judges. I did excuse the wyddowe also for commynge to the Iudge agaynste her aduersary, because she dyd it not of malyce, she dyd it not for appetite of vengeance.

And I tolde you that it was good and lawefull, for honeste vertuose folke, for Gods people, to vse the lawes of the realme, as an ordinari helpe agai[n]st theyr aduersaries, and oughte to take them as Gods holy ordinaunces, for the remedies of theyr iniuryes and wronges, when they are distressed. So that they do it charitiablye louyngelye, not of malyce, not vengeably, not couetouslye.

I should haue tolde you here of a certayne secte of heritikes that speake agaynste thys order and doctrine, they wyll haue no magistrates nor Judges on the earthe.

Here I haue to tell you, what I hearde of late by the relation of a credible person, and a worshypful man, of a towne in thys realme of Englannde that hathe aboue. v. C. [five hundred] heritykes of thys erronious

Why Christ
vsyd rather
the example
of a wycked
Iudge, then
of a good.

A brefe refer-
ral of thyngs
touched and
spoken of, in
hys thyrde
sermon.

He meanyth
the Annabap-
tistes, for
thys is one
of theyr det-
estable and
perniciose
erres.

* And the Lord said, Hear what the unjust judge saith.

And shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day and night unto him, though he bear long with them?

I tell you that he will avenge them speedily. Nevertheless when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?—Luke xix. 6—8,

Howe busye
the Deuyl is
to hynder
the worde
and sclaun-
der the gos-
pel.

The deuyl is
busy sturring
is an euident
argument
that thys doc-
tryne is true.

opinion in it as he fayed. Oh so busye the Deuyll is nowe to hynder the woerde commynge oute, and to sclauder the Gospell. A sure argumente and an euydent demonstration, that the lyght of Gods worde is a brode, and that thys is a true doctryne that we are taught now, else he woulde not rore and styrre a boute as he doeth whan he hathe the vpper hande. He wyl kepe hys possession quetly as he dyd in the popyshe dayes, whan he bare a rule of supremacye in peaceable possession. If he reygned now in open relygyon, in open doctryne as he dyd than, he woulde not styrre vppe erronyouse opynyons, he woulde haue kepte vs wythout contencion, wythoute dysfencion. There is no suche dyuersytie of opynions amonge the Turkes, nor among ye Iewes. And why? For ther he raygneth peaceably in the hole relygion. Christ sayth. *Cum fortis armatus custodierit atrium. etc.** Whan the stronge armid man kepeth thys house, those thinges yat he hath in posseſſion, are in a quietnes, he doeth enioye them peaceably. *Sed cum fortior eo superuenerit.** But whan a stronger than he commeth vpon hym, whan the light of goddes word is ones reueled, than he is busi, then he rores then he fykes a brode, and styrreth vp erronius opinions, to sclauder godds word. And thys is an argumente that we haue the true doctryne. I besse]che God continewe vs and kepe vs in it. The dyuell declarereth the same, and therfore he rores thus and goeth a bout to stir vp these wanton headdes and busye braynes. And wyll you knowe where thys towne is? I wyll not tell you dyrectlye. I wyll put you to muse a lyttle. I wyll vtter the matter by a cyrcumloquution. Wher is it? Wher the byshop of the dioces is an vnpreachynge prelate. Who is that? If there be but one

* When a strong man armed keep-
eth his palace, his goods are in peace:
But when a stronger than he shall
come upon him, and overcomþ him,

he taketh from him all his armour
wherein he trusted, and divideth his
spoils.—Luke xi. 21, ss.

fuche in al England, it is easi to gesse. And if ther were no mo but one, yet it were to many by one. And if there be moe, they haue the more to aunswere for, that they suffer in this realme an vnpreachynge prelacye vnrefourmed. I remember wel what S. Paule fayeth to a byshop. And though he spake it to Timothe beyng a byshop, yet I may say it now to the magistrates, for al is one case, al is one matter. *Non communicabis peccatis alienis.** Thou shalt not ^{Timothe. v.} be partaker of other mennes faultes. Laye not thy handes rashely vpon anye, be not to hasty in makynge of curates, in receyuyng menne to haue cure of Soules that are not worthye of the offyce, that eyther, canne not or wyl not, do theyr dutye. Do it not. Whye? *quia communicabis Peccatis alienis.** Thou shalt be partaker of other mennes finnes. Nowe methinke it nedes not to be partaker of other mens finnes we shal find inough of our owne. And what is *Communicare peccatis alienis.** To be partaker of other mennes euils, if this be not, to make vnpreachynge prelates, and to suffer them to continue stil in their vnpreachynge pr[e]lacye?

If the kynge and hys council should suffer euil judges of this realme to take bribes, to defeate iustice and suffer the great, to ouer go the poore, and shoulde loke through his fingers, and ^{Kynges and rulars muste wake and not wynke and leaue lokynge thorow theyr syngers.} wynke at it, should not the kinge be partaker of theyr naughtynes? And why? Is he not supreme head of the church? what? is ye supremacye a dignytye and no thyng else? is it not a dignytye wyth a charge? is it not comptable? I thynke it wylbe a chargeable dignytye whan accompte shal be asked of it. Oh what a vaantage hath the Deuyll? what entrye hath the wolfe whan the sheward tendeth not hys flocke, and leades theym not to good pasture? Saynt Paule doth say *qui bene præsunt pres-* ^{Timothe. v.}

* Neither be partaker of other men's sins. — 1 Tim. v. 8.

*biteri duplici honore digni sunt.** What is thys *Præfesse*. It is as much to say as to take charge and cure of soules we say *ille præfet*, he is sette ouer the flocke. He hath taken charge vpon hym. And what is To rule wel *Bene Præfesse*? To discharge ye cure. To what it is. rule well, to fede the flocke wyth pure foode, and good example of lyfe. Well then, *qui bene præfunt duplici honore digni sunt.**

What is do- Thei yat discharge their cure wel are
uble honour worthy duble honour? What is thys duble honour? The fyrist is reuerensd, to be had in estimation and reputacion with the people, and to be regarded as good pastours. A nother honoure is, to haue al thynges necessarye for their state, mynistrad vnto theym. Thys is the double honour that they ought to haue. *Qui præfunt Bene*, that discharge the cure if they do it *Bene*.

The merye
monke of
Cambryge.

There was a merye moncke in Cambryge in the Colledge that I was in, and it chaunced a greate compayne of vs to be together, entendynge to make good cheare, and to be merye (as scholers wyll be mery when they are disposed). One of the company brought out thys sentence. *Nil melius quam lætari et facere bene*. There is nothyng better then to be mery and to do well. A vengeance of that *Bene* (quod the Monke) I woulde that, *Bene* had bene banished beyonde the sea, and that *Bene* were out, it were well. For I coulde be mery, and I coulde do, but I loue not to do well, that *Bene* marres altogether. I woulde *bene* were out quod the mery monke for it importeth many thynges to lyue well, to dyscharge the cure. In dede it were better for them yf it were out. And it were as good to be out as to be ordered as it is. It wyll be a heuy *Bene* to some of them, when they shall come to theyr accompt. But paruenture you wyll faye What and they preache not at all? Yet *præfunt*. Are they not worthye double

* Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour.—
Tim. v. 17.

honoure? is it not an honorable ordre they be in? naye a horrible misorder, it is a horror rather then an honoure, and horrible, rather then honourable, if the preacher be naughte, and do not hys dutye. And thus go these prelates aboute to wreastle for honoure that the Deuyll maye take hys pleauier in sclauderynge the realme, and that it maye be reported abrode that we breed, herisyes amonge oure selues. It is to be thoughte that some of them woulde haue it so, to bring in poperye agayne.

Where the preacher doth not hys dutie, ther the order is not honorable, but horrable.

The entente of vnpree-
aching prela-
tes.

This I feare me is theyr entente, And it shalbe blowen abrode to oure holye father of Romes eares, and he shall fende forth hys thonderboltes vpon these brutes, and al thys dothe come to passe thorow theyr vnpreeachinge prelacye.

Are they not worthy double honore? Nay, rather double dyshonore, not to be regarded, not to be esteemed amonge the people, and to haue no liuyng at their handes? For as good preachers be worthy double honour: so vnpreeaching prelates be worthy double dishonoure: They muste be at theyr doublets. But now these. ii. dishonoures, what be they? Our sauour christ doth shew. *Si sal infatuatus fuerit ad nihil ultra valet, nisi ut proiiciatur foras** If the salte be vnsauerye it is good for nothinge, but to be cast out and troden of men. By thys salte is vnderstante preachers, and such as haue cure of soules. What be they worthye then? wherfore serue they? For nothing elles but to be caste oute. Make them quondamnes, out with them, cast them out of ther office, what shuld thei do with cure yat wil not loke to them? An other dishonor is this. *Vt concilcentur ab hominibus.** To be troden under mens fete, not to be regarded, not to be esteemed. They be at theyr doublets styl. S. Paule in hys epistle qualifyeth a bishop, and saith that he must be

An argument of congruens

Math. v.

* Ye are the salt of the earth: but forth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men. - Matt. v. 13.

*Aptus ad docendum, ad refellendum apte.** To teache and to confute all inaner of false doctrine. But what shall a man do wyth aptenes, if he do not vse it? It were as good for vs to be wyth out it.

A byshop angrye wyth
M. Latimer
and why be-
cause he wol-
de haue the
kyng make
of vnpreach-
inge prelates
quondamnes,
dominus reg-
nauit

A byshop came to me the laste daye, and was angry wyth me for a certayne Sermon that I made in thys place.† Hys chaplayne hadde complayned agaynst me because I had spoken agaynst vnpreachinge prelates.

Naye quod the byshoppe, he made so indifferente a Sermon the fyrt daye, that

I thoughte he woulde marre all the seconde daye.† He wyll haue euerye man a quondam as he is, As for my quondamshyp I thancke God that he gaue me ye grace to come by it by so honest a meanes as I dyd. I thanke hym for myne owne quondamshyppe, and as for them I wyll not haue theym made quondams yf they dyscharge theyr offyce. I woulde haue theym do theyr dutye. I woulde haue no more quondams as God healpe me. I owe theym no other malyce then thys, and that is none at al.

The bishops
answere to
his chaplain.

Thys byshop answered hys chaplayne, well (sayes he) well I dyd wysely to daie, for as I was goynge to hys Sermon, I remembred me that I had neither sayed masse, nor mattens.

A wyse an-
swere of may-
ster byshop
to hys chap-
layne.

And homewarde I gate me as faste as I coulde, and I thanke god I haue sayed both, and let hys vnfruteful Sermon alone. Vnfruiteful sayeth one, an other sayeth sedicious. Wel, vnfruitfull is the beste, and whether it be vnfruitfull or no, I can not tell, it lyeth not in me to make it fruitfull. And God worke

Preachers
at Gods in-
strumentes.

not in your hertes: my preachynge can do you but lyttle good. I am Goddes instrument but for a time. It is he that must giue the encrease, and yet preachynge is necessarye.

For take a waye preachyng, and take a way faluation. I tould you of *Scala celi*; and I made it a preach-

* Apt to teach.—*1 Tim.* iii. 2.

† The second sermon: see p. 46.

ynge matter, not a massyng matter. Christ is the preacher of al preachers, the patron and the exemplar, [t]hat all preachers oughte to folowe. For it was he by whome the father of heauen sayde: *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, ipsum audite.** Thys is my welbeloued sonne, heare hym, Euen he when he was here on the earth, as wysely, as learnedlyc as Thourthe
Christi prea-
chyd, yet his
sede fell into
thre partes circumspectli as he preached, yet hys sede fell in thre partes so that the fourthe parte onelye was fruiteful, and yf he had no better lucke that was preacher of all preachers, what shall we looke for? yet was ther no lacke in hym, but in the grounde: And so now ther is no fault in ye preachynge, the lacke is in the people that haue stony hertes and thorny hertes. I beseeche God to amend them. And as for these folke that speake against me, I neuer loke to haue theyr goode worde as longe as I lyue. Yet wyll I speak of their wickednes, as long as I shalbe permytted to speake As longe as I lyue, I wyl be an enemy to it. No preachers can passe it ouer wyth sylence. It is the originall roote of all myschiefe. As for me I owe them no other yll wyll, but He returneth
to the Para-
ble. I praye God amende theym, when it Deuterono-
mye. 1. pleaseth him. Now to the parable. What dyd the wycked Iudge in the ende of the tale? The loue of god moued hym not, the lawe of god was this, and it is written in the syrst of Deuteronomie. *Audite eos.*† Hear them. These two wordes wylbe heuye wordes to wycked judges another daye. But some of them peraduenture wyl say. I wyl heare them, but I wil heare suche as wyl geue brybes, and these that wyl do me good tournes. Naye ye be hedged out of that lybertye. He sayth, *Ita paruum ut magnum.*† The smalle as well as the greate. Ye must do *iustum*, deale

* This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.—*Matt. xvii. 5.*

† Ye shall not respect persons in judgment, *but* ye shall hear the small as well as the great; ye shall

not be afraid of the face of man; for the judgment is God's: and the cause is too hard for you, bring it unto me, and I will hear it.—*Deut. i. 17.*

Iustelye? mynister justice, and that to al men, and you
 Justice muste be ministered without delays. muste do it *iustle*. In tyme conuenient,
 wythout any delayes, or dryuynge of, wyth
 expedycion.

Well, I saye, neyther thys lawe, nor the woerde and
 commaundemente of God moued thys wycked Judge,
 What moued the wic- nor the myserye of thys wyddowe, nor the
 ked judge to vpryghteoufnes of hys cause, nor the
 heare the com- wronge whyche she tooke, moued hym,
 plaint of the but to auoyde importunitie, and clamoure,
 wydowe. and exclamacion, he gaue hyr the hearynge, he gaue
 hyr fynall sentence, and so she hadde hyr requeste.

Thys place of Iudgement it hathe bene euer vnper-
 fecte, it was neuer sene that all Judges
 All judges haue not done dyd theyr dutye, that they woulde heare
 dutye at all tymes. the small as well as the greate. I wyll not
 proue thys by the wytnes of anye pryuate maiestrate,
 but by the wylste Kynge sayinge that euer was.
vidi sub sole, saith Salomon *In loco iusticie, impietatem,*
 The lacke of *et in loco æquitatis iniquitatem.** I haue
 ministration sene vnder the sunne, that is to say, ouer
 of Justice what Salo- al, in euery place wher ryght iudgement
 mon dyd se shoulde haue bene, wickednes, as who
 in his time in Judges should fayre bribes takinge, defeatynge of
 iustice, oppressing of the pore Men sent away with
 wepynge teares, wythout anye hearinge of their causes,
 and in the place of equitie sayth he: I haue sene
 iniquity. No equity. No iustice a fore worde for
 Salomon to pronounce vniuersallye, generallye, and if
 Salomon sayd it, there is a matter in it.

I wene he fayed it not onely for hys owne
 tyme, but he fawe it both in thos that were before
 hym, and also that were to come after hym.

Nowe comes Esay and he affyrmeth ye same
 speaking of the iudgementes done in hys time in the
 commune place as it myghte be Westminster hall, the
 gylde hall, the Judges hall, the pretory house.

* And moreover I saw under the of righteousness, *that* iniquity was
 in the place of judgment, *that* there. — Eccles. vi. 16.
 wickedness was there; and the place

Call it what you wyll. In ye open place. For iudges at that tyme (accordynge to the maner) sate in the gates of the cytē in the hye waye.

Judges sate
in the gates
of the cytē in
the hye waye.

A goodly and Godly order for to sitte, so that the poore people maye eaisly come to them. But what sayeth Esay that seditiouse fellowe? He sayeth of hys countrey this. *Expectavi ut facaret iudicium, et fecit iniquitatem.** I loked the iudges should do theyr dutye, and I saw them woorke iniquitie.

Thys was
done for the
ease of ye peo-
ple, for ma-
istrate must
be indued wth
affabilitie.

Ther was brybes walking, money makynge, makynge of handes (quod the Prophete) or rather almyghtye God by the Prophete, suche is theyre parcialitye, affection, and brybes. They be suche money makers, inhauncers, and promoters of them selues.

There was
bribes and bri-
bers as wel
then as nowe.

Esaye knewe thys by the crynge of the people. *Ecce clamor populi.** sayeth he. And though some amonge theym be vnreacionable people (as manye be nowe adayes) yet no doubte of it some cryeth not wythoute a cause. And why? Theyr matters are not hearde, they are fayne to go home with weping teares, that fal downe by theyr chekes, and ascende vp to heauen and crye for vengeance. Let Judges loke about them, for surelye God wyll reuenge hys elect one daye.

The teares of
the pore who-
se cause is not
accordynge to
equity and iu-
stice herd, cry
for vengeance
to God.

And surelye me thynke, yf a Judge woulde followe but a worldelye reason, and wey the matter politikelye, wythoute these examples of scripture, he should feare more the hurt that maye be done hym by a poore wyddowe, or a myserable man, then by the greatest Gentyll man of them al. God hath pulled the judges skines ouer their heades, for the pore manns sake yea, the pore wyddowe maye do hym more hurt wyth hyr poore

An aduertise-
ment to our
Judges.

* He looked for judgment, but beheld oppression, for righteousness, but behold a cry.—Isa. v. 7.

pater noster in hyr mouth, then any other weapon, and wyth ii. or thi wordes shall bryng hym downe to the grounde, and destroye his iolitye, and cause hym to lose more in one day, then he gate in seuen yeres, for God wyll reuenge these miserable folkes, that can not helpe them selues. He sayth. *Ego in die visitationis etc.** In the daye of visitation I wyll reuenge theym? *An non vicietur anima mea?*† Shall not my soule be reuenged? As who shoulde saye.

I must nedes take theyr part. *Veniens veniam et non tardabo.*‡

Yes though I tary, and though I feme to linger never so longe yet I wyl come at lengthe, and that shortly.

And is god spake this, he wil perfourme his promise. He hath for theyr sakes as I tolde you, pulled the skynne ouer the iudges ears or thys.

Dauid was
deceyued in
putting trust
in his judges
when he wax-
ed olde him
selfe.

Absalon was
a bywalker.

Kynge Dauid trusted some in hys olde age, that dyd hym no very good seruice.

Nowe if in the people of God there were some folkes that fell to brybing, then what was ther amonge the Heathen?

Absalon Dauids sonne was a bywalker, and made a disturbance among the people in his fathers tyme.

And though he were a wycked man and a by walker, yet some there were in that tyme that were good, and walked vprightlye.

I speake not thys agaynst the Judges seate. I speake not as though all judges were naught, and as though I dyd not holde wyth the Judges, maiestrates, and offycers, as the Anabaptistes these faulse herytykes do. But I Judge them honorable,

Judges are
honorable ne-
cessary, and
Gods ordi-
naunces con-
cerning theyr
offices.

necessary, and Goddes ordinaunce. I speake it as scripture speaketh to giue a *Caveat* and a warnynge to all maiestrates, to cause theym to loke to theyr offyces, for the deuyll, the greate maiestrate, is

* Isa. x. 3.

Shall I not visit for these *things*? saith the LORD: shall not my soule be avenged on such a nation as this?—Jer. v. 29.

† Though it tarry, wait for it: be-cause it will surely come, is will not tarry.—Hab. ii. 3.

‡ He that shall come will come, and will not tarry.—Heb. x. 27.

verye busy nowe, he is euer doyng, he neuer cea-
eth to go about to make them like hymselfe. The
prouerbe is. *Simile gaudet simili.* Lyke woulde haue
lyke: If the iudg be good and vpryght he wyll assaye
to deceaue hym eyther by the subtyll ^{The craft of} suggestion of crafty lawyers or els by ^{the deuyll.}
false wytnesse, and subtyl vtterynge of a wronge
matter. He goeth about as much as he can to cor-
rupt the men of lawe, to make them fal to brybery,
to laye burdens on poore mennes backes, and to
make them fal to periurye, and to bryng into the
place of iudgement al corruption, iniquytie, and im-
pietie. I haue spoken thus much, to occasyon al
Judges and maiestrates to loke to theyr offyces. They
had nede to loke about them.

This geare moued saint Chrisostome to speake thys sentence. *Miror si. aliquis rectorum potest salvare.* I maruaile (saied this doctoure) if anye of these rulers or great maiestrates can be faued.

He spake it not for the impossibilitie of the thynge (God forbyd that all the maiestrates and judges shoulde be condempned) but for the difficultye.

Oh that a man myghte haue the contemplation of hell, that the deuyll woulde alowe a man to loke into hel, to se the state of it, as he shewed al ye world when he tempted Christ, in the wyldernes. *Commonstrat illi omnia regna mundi.** He shewed him al the kyngedomes of the worlde, and all theyr ^{Math. iii.} Math. iii. iolite, and tolde hym that he woulde gyue hym all, if he woulde knele downe and worshyp hym. He lyed lyke a faulfe harlot, he could not gyue theim he was not able to giue so much as a goſe wynge: for they were none of hys to gyue.

The tother that he promyfed them vnto: had more ryghte to them then he.

Lest the deuyl
be behynd them
to make them
peruerte Iu-
stice

A notable and
bolde saying
of Chriso-
stome.

If the deuyll
wold allowe
a man to loke
into hel what
he shoud see.

* Sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them.
—Matt. iv. 8.

But I saye if one were admitted to viewe hell thus, and beholde it thorowly, and the deuyll woulde saye.

Vnpreaching
prelates are
wyth the de-
uyll in hell
God sauе vs,
but they be
not there a-
lone, for bry-
byngne Iud-
ges are wyth
them for com-
panye.

He returneth
to hys former
matter.

said. Though I feare neyther God, nor man, et.c. And did he thynke as he sayed? Dyd he thyncke thus? Is it ye maner of wicked Judges to confesse, theyr faultes nay he thought not so.

And a man had come to hym, and called hym wycked, he woulde forth wyth haue commaunded hym to waird, he woulde haue defended hym selfe stoutly.

Whi the jud-
ge was forsed
then to confesse
his faultes. It was god that spake in hys conscience. God putteth hym to vtter suche thynges as he fawc in hys herte, and were hydde to hym selfe.

And there be lyke thynges in ye scripture, as. *Dixit insipiens in corde suo non est deus.** The vnwyse man sayd in his hert, there is no God, and yet if he shoulde haue benc asked the question, he wouki haue denied it.

Esay the prophet sayeth also. *mendatio protecti sumus.*† We are defended with lyes. We haue put our trust in lyes.

And in an other place he saith. *Ambulabo in prauitate cordis mei.*‡ I wyll walke in the wyckednes of my herte. He vttereth what lyeth in hys herte, not knowne to hym selfe, but to God.

Ezechiel de-
scribed the
herte of man. It was not for noughe that Ezechiel describeth mannes hert in his colours.

* The fool hath said in his heart, *There is no God.*—Psa. xiv. 1. ¶ Every one that walketh after the imaginationes of his own heart.—Jer.

† We haue made lies our refuge.— Isa. xxviii. 15.

*prauum cor hominis et inscrutabile.** The herte of man is naughti, a crooked, and a froward pece of worke.

Let euery man humble hym selfe, and acknowledge hys fault? and do as saynte Paule dyd.

When the people to whome he had preached, had sayed manye thynges in his commendation, yet he durst not iustify him selfe. Paule woulde not prayse hym selfe to hys owne iustification, and therfore when they hadde spoken these thynges by him I passe not all sayth he, what ye faye by me. I wyl not stande to your reporte, and yet he was not froward, that when he heard the trueth reported of hym, he woulde faye it to be false, but he sayed, I wyll neyther stande to your reporte, though it be good and iuste, neyther yet I wyl say that it is vntrue. He was. *Bonus Pastor.*

A good shepheheard. He was one of theym. *qui bene p̄asunt.†* that dyscharged hys cure, and yet he thoughte that there myghte be a further thyng in hym selfe then he fawe in him selfe.

And therefore he sayed. The Lorde shall Judge me. I wyll stand only to the Iudgemente of the Lord. For loke whom he iudges to be good, he is sure he is safe, he is cocke sure.

I spake of thys geare the lafte day, and of some I had little thanke for my laboure. The truth gettes hatred. I smelled some folkes that were greauen with me for it, bicause I spak against temerarious iudgement? What hath he to do with iudgmente? say they. I went about to kepe you from arrogant iudgmente. Wel I could haue sayed more then I dyd, and I can faye muche more nowe.

For why? I knowe more of my Lorde admirals death sith that tyme, then I did knowe before. O faye they. The man dyed very boldly, he woulde not haue done so, hadde he not bene in a iuste quarell.

* The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked. — Jer. xvii. 9.

† That ruleth well. — 1 Tim. v. 9.

The argument of such men as thou-
ght the Lord admirals cau-
se to be good, because he to-
ke hys death so boldlly is con-
futed.

The Anabap-
tistes howe
theyr toke their
death.

Thys is no good argument my frendes. A man semeth not to feare death, therfore hys can se his good. Thys is a deceauable argumente. He went to hys death boldely, *ergo* he standeth in a iust quarel.

The Anabaptistes that were brente here in dyuers townes in England, as I heard of credible menne (I sawe them not my selfe) went to theyr death, euen *Intrepide*. As ye wyll faye with out any feare in the world chearfully. Well, let them go.

There was in the olde doctoures tymes an other
The Dona-
tistes howe
they dyed
kinde of poysoned heretikes, that were
called Donatistes. And these heritikes
wente to their execution as though they
should haue gone to some iolye recreation or basket,
to some bealye chere, or to a play. And wyll ye
argue then? He goeth to hys death boldely, or
chearefullye, Ergo he dyeth in a iusle cause Naye that
sequell foloweth no more then thys.

A man semes to be a frayed of death, Ergo he dyeth
euyl. And yet oure Sauioure Christe was a frayed
of death him selfe.

I warne you therefore, and charge you
not to iudge theym yat be in authoritie,
not to iudge theym yat be in authoritie,
but to praye for them. It becometh vs
not to Iudge greate maiestrates, nor to condemne
theyr doinges, vnlesse theyr dedes be openly and
Charite is the
cognisaunce &
badg of a chri-
sten man. apparantlie wycked. Charitye requireth
the same, for charitye iudgeth no man, but
well of euery bodye. And thus we maye
trye whether wee haue charitye or no, and if we haue
not charitye wee are not Gods discipiles, for they are
knownen by that badge He that is hys discipile, hath the
worcke of charity in hys breast.

It is a worthye sayinge of a clarke. *Charitas si est,*
operatur, si non operatur, non est. If there be charity it
worketh, *Omnia crede re, omnia sperare.** To beleue

* Believeth all things, hopeth all things.—*1 Cor. xiii. 5.*

all thinges, to hope al, to say ye best of the maiestrates, and not to stand to the defending of a wicked matter. I wil go farder with you now. If I should haue fayed al that I knewe, youre eares woulde haue yrked, to haue hearde it, and nowe God hathe brought more to lyghte. And as touchyng the kynde of hys death, whether he be sauued or no, I referre that to God onely. What God can do, I can tell. I wyl not denye but that he maye in the twynkeling of an eye, sauue a man, and turne hys herte. What he dyd I can not tell. And when a man hathe two strokes wyth an axe, whoo can tel that betwene two strokes he doth repente. It is very hard to iudge Well, I wyll not go so nyne to worke, but thys I wyl say, if thei aske me what I thinke of hys deathe, that he dyed verye daungerously, yrkesomelye, horrabylye.

The man beyng in the tower wrote certayne papers whyche I sawe my selfe. Thei were two lyttle ones, one to my Ladye Maryes grace, and an other to my Ladye Elizabethe grace, tendyng to thys ende, that they shoulde confispyre a gaynste my Lorde protectours grace.

Surely so feditiousli as could be. Nowe what a kind of death was thys, that when he was readye to laye his head vpon the blocke, he turnes me to the leuetenautes seruaunte and fayeth.

Byd my seruaunte spede the thynge that he wottes of? Wel, the worde was ouer heard.

Hys seruaunte confessed these two Papers, and they were founde in a shooe of hys. They were sownen betwene the soules of a velvet shooe. He made his ynke so crafteily, and wyth such worke-manship as the lyke hath not bene sene.

I was prisoner in the tower miselfe, and I coulde neuer inuente to make ynke so. It is a wonder to heare of hys subtilitie. He made hys pen of the aglet of a poynte that he plucked from hys hose, and thus wrote these letters

M. L. said not
all yat he knew
concernyng
the lord admiralles cause.

The ii. lyttle
papers which
the Lorde admiral wrote
in the tower.

The wordes
he spake to ye
leuitenaunte
seruaunte

The penne of
the aglet of a
poynt

soo seditiouslye, as ye haue hearde, enfor syngemanye matters agaynst my Lorde protectours grace, and so forth. God had leste hym to him selfe, he hadde cleane forsaken hym. What woulde he haue done if he had liued styll? that wente a bout this geare, when he layed hys head on the blocke at the ende of hys lyfe. Charitye (they faye) worketh but Godly, not after thys sorte. Well, he is gone, he knoweth hys fare by thys, he is eyther in ioye or in payne. There

There is but
two states.
The state of
saluacion and
the state of dam-
nation.

is but two states if we be once gone. There is no chaunge. Thys is the speach of the scripture. *ubique lignum ecclerit ibi erit, siue in austrum, siue in aquilonem* [m].* Wheresoever the tree falleth, eyther into the southe, or into the north, there it shall rest.

By the fallynge of the tree, is signifiyd the death of man. If he fall into the Southe, he shall be saued.

¶ For the Southe is hote, and betokeneth charitye or saluation. If he fall in the northe in the colde of infidelity, he shal be dampned. There are but two states, the state of saluation, and the state of damnation.

Ther is no repentaunce after thys lyfe, But if he dye in the state of dampnation, he shal rise in the same. Yea, though he haue a whole Monkerye to synge for hym. He shall haue hys synall Sentence when he dyeth.

The seruaunt
which vttered
the secretes
of the two let-
ters is com-
mendid of M. L.

And that seruaunte of hys, that confessed and vttered thys gere was an honest manne. He dyd honestlye in it. God putte it in hys herte. And as for the tother whether he be saued or no I leaue it to God. But surelye, he was a wycked man, the realme was well rydde of hym.

It hathe a treasure, that he is gone. He knoweth hys fare by thys.

A terrible example fuerlye, and to be noted of euery man. Nowe before he shoulde dye, I heard say he

* If the tree fall toward the south, where the tree falleth, there it shall or toward the north, in the place be. — Eccles. xl. 3.

had commendations to the kynge, and spake manye wordes of hys maiestye. All is the kynge, the Kynge. Yea *Bona verba*. Thesewere fayre wordes the kynge, the kyng. I was traualied in the tower my selfe (wyth the kynges commaundemente, and the counsayle) and there was syr Roberte Cunstable, the Lorde Huffye, the Lord Darfy. And the Lorde Darfy, was tellynge me of the fayethfull seruice that he hadde done the kynges maiestye that dead is. And I had sene my Soueraygne Lorde in the fylde (sayd he) and I had sene hys grace come a gaynste vs. I woulde haue lyghted from my horffe, and taken my swerde by the poynt, and yelded it into hys graces handes. Mary quod I but in the meane season ye played not the parte of a fayethfull subiecte in holdynge wyth the people in a commotion, and a disturbance. It hath bene the cast of al traytours to pretend nothing agaynst the kynges person, they neuer pretende the matter to the kynge, but to other.

The lorde
admiral had
commendations
to the kynge
before hys
death.

What the
Lord D^ro.
sayed to ma-
ster Latimer
in ye tower.

The commu-
nione
cast of al tray-
tours.

The offyce and
duty of sub-
iectes

A thing ynt
happened at
Oxford.

Subiectes maye not resyste anye magistrates, nor oughte to do nothyng contrayre to the kynges lawes. And therefore these wordes, the kyng and so forth, are of smalle effecte. I hearde once a tale of a thinge yat was done at Oxford. xx. yeres a go, and the lyke hath bene fence in thys realme as I was enformed of credible persons, and some of them that sawe it be alyue yet.

There was a prieste that was robbed of a greate summe of money, and there were. ii. or. iii. attached for the same robbery and to be bryefe were condemned and broughte to the place of execution. The fyrste manne, when he was vpon the ladder denied the matter vtterly, and toke his death vpon it that he neuer consented to the robbery of the prieste nor neuer knew of it. When he was deade, the seconde felowe commeth and maketh

A priest rob-
bed of a grea-
te summe of
money.

his protestation and acknowleged the faulte, sayinge, that among other greouise offences that he had done he was accessary to thys robberye and sayeth he, I hadde my parte of it, I crye God mercy so hadde thys felow that dyed before me hys parte. Now who can iudge whether thys felow dyed wel or no? Who can iudge

It is hard to judge a mans herte. a mans herte? The one denied the matter, and the tother confessed it, there is no herte.

Judgynge of suche matters. I haue hearde muche wyckednes of thys manne, and I haue thought oft, Iesu, what wyl worth, what wyl be the ende of thys man?

When I was wyth the byshop of Chechester in warde (I was not so wyth hym, but my frendes might come to me, and talke wyth me) I was desirous to heare of execution done (as ther was eueri weke, some in one place of the citye or other) for there was thre wekes fessions at newgate, and fourthynghte Sessions at the Marshialshy, and so forth.

The by-shoppes be-sturred theym so then, that some of them were neuer so diligent sythe. I was desirous I faie to heare of execution, bycause I loked that my part shoulde haue bene in, I loked euerie daye to be called to it my selfe.

The whore yat committed robbery. Amonge all other I heard of a wanton woman, a naughtye lyuer, a whore, a vayne bodye, yat was ledde from newgate to the place of execution, for a certaine robberye that she had committed, and she hadde a wycked communication by the waye. Here I wil take occasion to moue your grace that suche menne as shall be put to death maye haue learned menne to gyue them instruction, and exhortation.

M. Latimer exhorteth the kynges gracie that learned men might be appoynted to such as shall suffer and are conuict persons. For the reuerence of God when they be put to execution, let them haue instructors, for manye of theim are cast away for lacke of instruction, and dye miserably for lacke of good preaching.

This woman I say as she wente by the waye, had

wanton and folyshe talke, as thys, that if good felowes hadde kept touch wyth hyr, she hadde not bene at thys tyme in that case, and amongeste al other talke, she saied, that suche a one, and named this manne, hadde hyr maidenheade fyrste, and herynge thys of hym at that tyme, I loked euer what woulde be hys ende, what woulde be come of hym.

He was a manne the fardest frome the feare of God that euer I knewe or heard of in Englande. Fyrste, he was author of all thys womannes whoredome. For if he had not had hyr maydenhead, she myghte haue bene maried, and become an honeste womanne, wher as nowe beyng nought wyth hym, shee fell afterwarde by that occasion to other. And they that were nought wyth her, fel to robbery and she folowed, and thus was he author of all thys.

This geare came bi Sequels. Peraduenture thys maye seeme to be a lyghte matter, but surelyt it is a greate matter, and he by vnrepentaunce fell frome euyll to worse, and frome worse, to worste of all, til at the length he was made a spectacle to all the worlde. I haue hearde saye, he was of the opinion that he beleued not the immortaltye of the soule that he was not ryght in yat matter. And it mighte well appeare by the takynge of hys death. But ye wyll saye. What ye sclauder him, ye breake charitye.

Nay it is charitie that I do. We canne haue no better vse of hym nowe, then to warne other to beware by hym.

Christ saith *Memores effete uxoris* Lotnes wif
Loth.* Remembre Lothes wife? She
was a woman that wold not be content
with hir good state, but wrestled wyth
Gods callynge, and shee was for that cause turned into
a salte stome, and therefore the scripture doeth name
hir as an example for vs to take hede by. Ye shall se
also in the second Epistle of saint Peter the seconde

* Remember Lot's wife.—Luke xvii. 30.

Chapter, howe that God almyghtye spared not a
 God spared
 not hys aunc-
 gellus

The whole
 worlde was
 drowned, So-
 dome and Go-
 mor was bur-
 nte and all for
 our example.
 Gene xviii.

An exhortation
 to al subiects
 not to mur-
 mur, misudg-
 nor repyne a-
 gaynste the
 kinges proce-
 dynges

numbre of hys Aungels, whiche had synned
 againste hym to make them examples to
 vs to beware by. He drowned the whole
 world in the time of Noe and destroyed
 for synne the cities of Sodome and Go-
 morhe and why? *Fecit eos exemplum iis*
*qui impi forent acturi.** He made them
 an example to them that would do
 wyckedlye in tyme to come. If God would not spare
 them, thynke ye he wyll fauour vs? Thus maye
 thys man be an example to vs. Let vs al subiectes
 iudge wel of our magistrates, in suche
 matters and be contente wyth theyr
 doynges, and loke not to be of the coun-
 faile.

And thus toke I occasion to speake of
 him, and to profyt you therbi, and I besech
 you so to take it. He may be a good warnynge to
 vs, and this is the best vse that we can haue of him
 nowe.

I wil go on a word or two, in the applicacion of the
 parable, and then I wyll make an ende. To what
 ende, and to what purpose broughte Chryste thys
 parable of the wycked iudge.

To what end
 ye parable of
 the wycked
 iudge tendeth.

The ende is, that we shoulde be con-
 tinually in prayer. Prayer is neuer inter-
 rupte but by wickednes. We must ther-
 fore walk orderly, vprightly, callyng vpon God in
 all oure troubles, and aduersities, and for thys pur-
 pose there is not a more comfortable lesson in all the
 scripture, then here now in the lappyng vp of the mat-
 ter. Therefore I wyll open it vnto you. You mis-
 erable people, if there be any here amongst you, that
 are oppressed with greate men and can get no healpe,
 To whom in I speake for youre comfort, I wil open

* And turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into ashes condemned them with an overthrow, making *them* an ensample unto those that after should live ungodly. —2 Pet. ii. 6.

vnto you, whyther ye shall resort, when <sup>dystresse & op-
preſſyon we</sup> ye be in any disties. Hys good wyll is ^{shall resort.} redy always at hande, when so euer we shal cal for it. And therefore he callis vs to hym ſelſe. We ſhall not doubt if we come to him. Marke what he ſayth to cauſe vs beleue that oure praiers ſhalbe heardē. *Et deus non faciet vindictam.** He reaſons after thys faſhyon. Wyl not GOD, ſayeth he, reuenge hys electe? and heare thei[n]? ſeyng the wycked iudge heard the wydowe? He ſemeth to go plainly to worcke, he willeth vs to praye to God, and to none but to God. We haue a maner of reaſonyng in the ſcholes, and it is called *A minore ad maius.* From the leſſe to the more, and that maye be vſed here. The iudge was a tirante, a wicked man, God is a patrone, a defender, <sup>An argument
from the leſſe
to the more.</sup> a father vnto vs. If the iudge then, beynge a tyrante, woulde here the poore wyddowe, muche more God wyll here vs in all diſtrefſes. He beynge a father vnto vs, he wyll heare vs ſoner, then the other beynge no father, hauynge no fatherly affection. Moreouer, God is naturallye mercyful.

The iudge was cruel, and yet he healped the wydowe, muche more then God wyl help vs at oure nedē.

He ſayeth by the oppreſſed. *Cum ipſo ſum in tribulatione.*† I am with hym in hys trouble. Hys trybulation is myne.

I am touched wyth hys trouble. If the Judge then beynge a cruell man hearde the wyddowe, muche more GOD wyll healpe vs, being touched wyth oure affection. Furthermore, thys iudge gaue the wydowe, no commaundemente to come to him, we haue a commaundement to reſort to GOD for he ſaieth: *Inuoca me in die tribulationis:*‡ call <sup>We haue a co-
mendment to
reſort to god.</sup> vpon me in the daye of thy tribulacion, whych is as well a commaundemente, as *Non furaberis.*§ Thou ſhalt not ſteale.

* And ſhall not God avenge his own elect?—See text at p. 103. ‡ Call upon me in the day of trou-ble.—I'ku 1. 15.

† I will be with him in trouble.—§ Thou ſhalt not ſteal.—Ex. xx. 15. Ps. xci. 25.

He that spake the one, spake the other: And whatsoeuer he be that is in trouble, and calleth not vpon God, breaketh hys commaundemente. Take hede therefore. The iudge dyd not promise the wydowe helpe, God promised vs help, and wyl he not perfourme it? He wyll, he wyl. The Iudge (I say) did not promyse the wyddowe healpe. God wil geue vs both hearing and helpynge. He hath promyfed it vs wyth a dubble othe. *Amen, amen, sayth he, verely, verely, he doubles it.*

*Quicumque petieritis etc.** whatsoeuer ye shall axe in my name, ye shal haue it. And though he put of some synner for a tyme, and suffer hym to byte on the brydell, to proue hym (for there be many begynnners, but fewe continewars in prayer) yet we maye not thyncke that he hath forgotten vs, and wyl not healpe vs. *Veniens veniet, et non tardabit.*† When the healpe is mooste nedefull, then he wyll come and not tarye. He knoweth when it shalbe best for vs to haue healpe, though he tary he wyl come at the last. I wyll trouble you but halfe a quarter of an hour, in the application of the parable, and so commyt you to God.

What should it meane that god would haue vs so diligent and earnest in prayer? Hath he why GOD wold haue vs to be diligent and earnest in prayer. such pleasure in our worckes? Many talke of prayer, and make it a lyplabour-yng. Praying is not babling, nor praying is not monkerye.

It is to miserable folke that are oppressed a conforde, solace, and a remedy.

But what maketh oure prayer to be acceptable to God? It lyeth not in our power. We must haue it by an other meane.

Remembre what God sayed of his sonne: *Hic why our prai- est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi- er is accepta- bene complacui.*‡ This is my dear son in ble to God.

* Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do.—John xiv. 13. † This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.—

‡ He that shall come will come, Matt. xvii. 5. and will not tarry.—Heb. x. 37.

whom I delyte. He hath pleasure in nothynge, but in hym.

How cometh it to passe then, that oure prayer pleasest God. Oure prayer pleasest God, because Christ pleasest God.

When we praye, we come vnto hym, in the confidence of Chrystes merytes, and thus offerynge vp oure prayers, they shalbe heard for Chrystes sake. Yea, Chryste wyl offer them vp for vs, that offered vp once hys Sacryfyce to God, whych was acceptable, and he that commeth wyth anye other meane then thys, god knoweth hym not.

This is not the missal Sacrifice, the po-
pishe sacrifyce to stand at the aultare, and
offer vp Chryst agayne. Oute vpon it,
that euer it was vsed.

I wyl not say naye, but that ye shall fynde in the
olde doctores thys word *Sacrificium*, but there is one
generall solution for all the doctours that
S. Augustyne sheweth vs.

The sygne of a thynge hath often times
the name of ye thing that it signifieth. As
the supper of the Lorde is the Sacrament of an othe
thynge, it is a commemoration of his death whyon
suffered once for vs, and because it is a signe of Christes
offering vp, therefore it beares the name therof. And
thys Sacrifyce a woman can offer as well as a man.
Yea, a poore woman in the belfre: hath as good
authoritie to offer vp thys sacrifyce, as hath the byshop
in his *pontificalibus*, with his myter on his head, hys
rings on his fyngers, and Sandales on hys fete.
And whosoeuer commeth asking the father remedy in
hys necessaryty for Chrystes sake, he offereth vp as
acceptable a facryfyce as any byshop can do. And so
to make an ende.

Thys must be done wyth a constaunte fayeth, and
a sure confydence in Christe. Fayeth, faythe is all
fayeth, fayth. We are vndone for lacke together
of fayeth. Chryste nameth fayth here, Fayeth is al-

M. L. cryeth
out vpon the
popysh masse.

The solution
of S. Augus-
tyn vpon
word sacrifi-
ce.

togither. When the sonne of man shall come, shall he fynde fayeth on the earthe? Why speaketh he so muche of faythe? because it is harde to fynde a true faythe. He speaketh not of a politicall fayth, a faythe set vp for a tyme, but a constant, a permanent, a durable faythe, as durable as goddes word. He came many tymes. Fyrste in the tyme of Noe, when he preached, but he founde lytle fayth. He came also when Loth preached, when he destroyed Sodome and Gomorhe.

But he founde no fayth, and to be shorte he shall come at the latter daye, but he shall fynde a lytle fayth. And I wene the daye be not farre of, and when he was here carnallye dyd, he fynde anye faythe? Manye speake of faythe, but fewe ther be that hath it.

Chryste mourneth the lacke of it. He complayneth that when he came, he founde no fayth.

Fayth is a great state & a Dutches. Thys fayth is a great state, a Ladye, a Dutches, a greate womanne, and she hath euer a great companye and trayne about her (as a noble state ought to haue) fyrste she hath a Gentilman visher that goth before her, and where he is not, there is not Lady fayth.

This Gentilman visher is called *Agnitio peccatorum*,

Knowledge of synne is gentle man vsher to La- dy fayth. knowledge of syn, when we enter into our hert, and acknowledge our faultes, and stand not about to defend them. He is none of these wynkers, he kyckes not

when he heares hys fault. Nowe as the Gentilman vhere goth before her, so she hath a trayne that cometh behynde her, and yet though they come behynde, they be all of faythes companye, they are all wyth her, as Chryste when he countersayted a state goyng to Hierusalem, some wente before him, and some after, yet all were of his company, so al these wayte vpon fayeth. She hath a

Fayth hath a trayne after her & they are the workes of our vocation greate trayne after her besydes hyr Gentylman visher, her whole houshold, and those be the workes of our vocation,

when euerye man confydereth what vocation he is in, what callyng he is in, and doeth the worckes of the fame, as to be good to hys neighbour, to obey God etc.

Thys is the trayne that foloweth Lady Fayeth, as for an exemple. An vnfaythful Iudge hath fyrste an heauye rekenyge of his faulte, repentyng him self of his wickednes, and then forsaketh his iniquytie, hys impeietie, feareth no man, walkes vpryght, and he that doeth not thus, hath not Ladye fayth, but rather a boldnes of synne, and abusinge of Christes passion.

Ladye faieth is neuer withoute hyr Gentleman vshere, nor wyth out hyr trayne, shee is no Anckres, she dwells not alone, shee is neuer a pryuate woman, shee is neuer

Fayth is no
ankres she
hath many a
atendante vpon
hyr parson.

alone, and yet many therbe that bost them selues that they haue fayth, and that when Christe shall come they shall do well ino[u]gh. Nay naye, these that be fayethfull shal be so fewe, that Christ shal skarce se them. Manyethere be that runnes fayeth Saynte Paule, but there is but one that receyueth the rewarde, it shall be wyth the multytude when he shall come, as it was in the tyme of Noe, and as it was in the tyme of Loth.

In the tyme of Noe, they were eatynge and drynkyng, buyldyng plantynge, and sodaynely the water came vpon them, and drowned them :

The soleyn
comynge of ye
Lord in the ty-
me of Noe and
Loth.

In the tyme of Lothe also, they weare eatynge and drynkyng. etc. And sodenlye the fyre came vpon them, and deououred them. And nowe we are eatynge and drinkynge. There was neuer suche buyldyng then, as is nowe, plantynge, nor maryinge. And thus it shalbe euen when Christe shall come, at the Iudgemente.

Is eatynge and drynkyng and marying, reproued in scripture? Is it not? Naye he reproued not al kynd of eatynge and drynkyng, he muste be oþer wayes vnderstand.

If the scripture be not trulye expounded what is

more erronious? And though there be complay[n]inges of some eatynge or drynkyng in the scripture yet he speaketh not as though all were noughe.

what eatyng and drinking is allowed and what is dyscom-
mended. They maye be wel ordered, they are Goddes allowaunce, but to eate and drynke as they dyd in Noes tyme, and as they dyd in Lothes tyme. Thys eatynge

and drynkyng, and maryinge is spoken agaynsfe. To eate and drincke in the forgetfulnes of goddes commaundement, voluptuously, in excesse and glotonnie, this kinde of eatynge and drinkyng is noughe, when it is not done moderatly, soberly, and

What kynde of maring is reprooved wort-
thely. with al circumspection. And lykewyse to marrye for fleshelye luste, and for ther owne fantasye. Ther was neuer suche

marriyng in Englande, as is nowe I here tell of Stealyng of wardes, may-
rather of lan-
des. to. This is a straunge kynde of stealyng but it is not the wardes, it is the landes

that they steale. And some ther be that knyt vp mariages to gether not for any loue or Godlines in

Another kin-
de of mariage
and all naught. the parties, but to get frensheppe, and make them stronge in the realme, to encrease their possesions and to ioyne lande to lande. And other there be that enuegle mennes daughters, in the contempte of theyrfathers, and go aboute to marrye them wythoute theyr consente. Thys marryinge

The inueg-
lers of mens
daughters
ar[e] notyed. is vngodlye, and manye parentes constraine theyre sonnes and daughters to marrye where they loue not, and some are beaten and compulsed. And they that marye thus, marrye in a forgetfulnes and obliuiousnes of goddes commaundementes. But as in

A daye wyll
come shall
paye for all.
I feare it be
to lytle wyth
some men, that the tyme of Noe, sodenlye a clappe fell in theyr bosomes, so shall it be wyth vs at the latter daye when Christe shall come. We haue as lytle confsyence as maye be, and when he shal come, he shal lacke Lady

Fayeth, wel is them that shalbe of that a man can neither sele it nor lytle flocke, that shall be set on the righte yet se it. hande. etc.

I haue troubled you longe, partelye beyng out of my matter, partelye beyng in. But now I wyl make an ende. I begane wyth thys text. *Quacunque scripta sunt. etc.** So wyl I ende now for myne owne ease, as an olde treuaunte wyth thys sentence. *Beati qui audiunt verbum dei etc.*†

Blessed are they that heare the worde of God, and kepereth it. I tolde you in the begynning of thys Parable of *Bene*. *Nil melius quam latari et facere*. If I had ceased ther all hadde benne wel, quod the merye Moonke, so blessed are they that heare the worde of God. But what foloweth? and kepe it.

Our blessednes commeth of the kepynge. Our blessednes commeth of the kepynge. It hanges all on the ende of the tale, in crediting and assentyng to the woerde,

and folowynge of it. And thus
we shal begyn oure blessed
nes here, and at the
length we shal
come to
the
blessynge that neuer shal
haue ende, whych
God graunt
both you
and me,
Amen.

* Rom. xv. 4.

† Luke xi. 28

The fifte

Sermon of Mayster Hughe

Latimer, whyche he preached before
the kynges Maestye wythin
hys Graces Palace at
Westminster the
fyfte daye of
April.



*Vacunque scripta sunt, ad nostram
doctrinam scripta sunt.** Al thinges
yat are wrytten, thei are written, to be
oure doctrine. What doctrine is writ-
ten for vs in the parable of the Iudge,
and the wyddowe, I haue opened
it to you, moste honorable audience.

Some thinge as concerning the
Iudge, I woulde wyshe and praye, that it myghte be a
lytle better kept in memorie, that in the seate of
Iustyce, no more iniquitie and vnyrghtuous-
nes, myght raygne.

Thys I feare
me is sooner
wyshed then
often seen but
yet let vs prai

Some can
spel and spy
oute lande
and put
together faste
inough, but
when they read
or heare a
good lesson,
that commuth
in at one eare
and goeth out
at the other

Wherfore I wold ye should kepe memorie, how vn-
searcheable a mans hert is. I woulde ye should
remembre the fall of the Angels, and beware therby,
the fall of the olde worlde, and beware therby.
Marke ma-

The fal of Sodome and gomorhe, and be-

ware therby. 'The fall of Lothes wyfe,
and beware thereby. The fall of the manne
that suffered of late, and beware therby.

ny caueates
and beware-
byes.

I woulde not that miserable folke should forget the argument of the wycked Judge, to induce them to prayer, whyche argumente is thys. If the Judge beyng a tyraunte, a cruell man, a wycked man, whych did not call hir to hym, made hir no promise, nor in herynge nor helpynge of hir cause, yet in the ende of the matter for the importunityes fake dyd helpe hir, muche more almighty god which is a father who beareth a fatherlye affection, as the father doeth to the chylde, and is naturallye mercifull, and calleth vs to him wyth hys Promise that he wyll heare them that call vpon hym, that be in distres and burdened wth aduersitie. Remembre this. You knowe where to haue youre remedy. You by youre prayer can worcke greate efficayce. And your prayer wyth teares is an instrument of great efficacy. It canne bryng many thynge to passe. But what thinge is that, that maketh oure prayer acceptable to god? is it oure bablyng? No, no. It is not oure babbling nor oure long prayer. There is an other thynge then it.

What maye
be wroght by
prayer.

What ma-
keth our pra-
yer accept-
ble to God

The dignitie and worthines of our wordes, is of no such vertue. For whosoeuer resorteth vnto God, not in the confidence of hys own merites, but in the sure truse of the deseruinge of oure Sauour Iesu Christ, and in hys paffyon.

Whosoeuer doeth inuocate the father of heauen, in the truse of Christes merites, whyche offerynge is the most confortable and acceptable offerynge to the father. Whosoeuer I faye offereth vp Christe, whyche is a perfecte offerynge, he can not be denied the thing he desyreth, so that it be expedient for hym to haue it. It is not the bablyng of oure lippes, nor dignitee of oure wordes, but the prayer of the herte is the offeryng hat pleaseth thorowe the

Our prayer
pleaseth God
for Christes
sake when we
distrust oure
own merites
and trust in
hys deseruin-
ges.

onely meanes of hys sonne For oure prayer profyteth vs bycause we offer Christe to hys father.

In all our
praye[r]s we
muste bryngē
a present with
vs to god and
marke wel
who it is,

Whosoeuer resorteth to god wyth out Christ, he resorteth in vayne. Our prayer pleafeth, because of Iesu Christ, whom we offer. So that it is fayth, fayth, fayeth, is the matter, It is no prayer that is wythout fayth, it is but a lyppe labouring, and monkery wythout fayth. It is but a lytle bablynge.

I spake also of lacke of fayth, and vpon that also I fayed, the ende of the worlde is neare at hande, For ther is lacke of faith nowe. Also the defection is come

Coniectures
why the ende
of the worlde
is supposed
to be neare at
hande.

and swaruinge from the fayth. Antichriste the man of synne, the sonne of iniquiti is reueiled, the latter daye is at hande. Let vs not thynke hys commynge is farre of.

But when soeuer he cometh he shall fynde iniquitye inough, let him come when he wil What is nowe behinde? we be eatynge and drynckynge as they were in Noes tyme, and Mariynge I thyncke as

As much
wickednes
seyd in oure
tyme as euer
was in the
time of Noe

wyckedly as euer was. We be buildynge purchachinge, planting in the contempte of Gooddes worde. He maye come shorte-lye when he wyll, for there is so much mischiefe and swaruynge from the fayeth (raynyngē nowe in oure dayes) as euer was in anye age. It is a good warnynge to vs all to make readye agaynst hys commynge, Thys lyttle rehersall I haue

M. Latimer
returneth to
hys former
question and
to the dissolu-
cion of the
same.

made of the thynge I speake in my last sermon. I wyll nowe for thys daye retourne to my question and dissolute it, whether goddes people maye be gouerned by a gouernoure that bereth the name of a kynge or no. The Iewes hadde a lawe that when they shoulde haue a kynge they shoulde haue hym accordynge to the election of god, he would not leaue the election of a kyng to theyr owne braynes. There be some busy braynes, wanton wyttes, that saye, the name of a kynge is an odyouse

Wether
Goddes peo-
ple maye be
gouerned by
a kyng or no.

The kynges
of the Iew-
es were elec-
ted and chosen
of God.

name and wrieth this text of the scripture, i Regu. viii.
 wher god semeth to be angyre and displeased with
 the Ifralites for askyng a kyng expounding it very
 euill and odiciously. As who wold say a king were
 an odiouse thynge. I comminge ridinge in my way,
 and calling to remembraunce wherfore I
 was sent, that I must preach, and preach
 afore ye kyngs maiesti I thought it mete
 to frame my preaching according to a king.
 Musyng of thys I remembred miselife of a
 boke that came from Cardinall Pole, maist-
 ter Pole the kynges traytor, whyche he
 sent to the kynges maestye. I neuer re-
 member that man me thyncke, but I re-
 member hym wyth a heauye herte, a
 wyttie man, a learned man, a man of
 a noble house, so in fauoure that if he had
 taried in the realme, and woulde haue con-
 formed hym selfe to the Kynges proce-
 dynges, I hearde saye, and I beleue it
 verelye, that he hadde bene Byshop of
 Yorcke at this day. To be a bidden by, he wold haue
 done muchegood in that parte of the Realme. For those
 quarters haue all wayes had greate nede of a learned
 man, and a preachynge prelatte. A thyng to
 be muchelamented that suche a man shoulde
 take suche a waye. I here saye he readeth
 muche Sayncte Ieromes workes, and is wel sene in theim
 But I woulde he woulde followe sayncte Ierome, wher
 he expoundeth thys place of scripture.

*Exite de illa populus meus.** All mightie
 god saith. Get you from it, get you from
 Rome, he calles it, the purple hore of Ba-
 bilon. It had bene more commendable
 to go from it, then to come to it. What
 his sayings be in his boke, I do not well
 remember, it is in the farthest ende of my

He declarereth hym selfe in it, to haue a
 corrupte iudgemente, I haue but a glyn-

Oure prea-
 chyne must
 be framed
 accordyng
 to the persons
 before who[m]
 we preache.

C. Pole the
 kynges tray-
 tor, a traytor
 agaynst
 kynde and na-
 ture.

M. Latimer
 lamentes the
 defection of
 C. Pole and the
 breche of hys
 allegiaunce
 to hys lyege
 and Royale
 kyng.

They nede
 as greatly at
 thys daye as
 ever they did.

Cardinal Po-
 le vsyth (they
 saye) to rede
 muche Saint
 Ieromes
 woorkes.
 Rome is cal-
 led of Ierome
 the purple
 hooore of Ba-
 bylon
 memorye.

He meaneth
 of the booke
 that C. Pole

* My people, go ye out of the midst of her.—Jer. ii. 45.

dyd sende to
the kynge.
The scope
or state of
the boke, ten-
des to dys-
uade the kin-
ge from hys
supremycye.

Spoken like
a Cardinal
who may lie
by authorite
because he
dwelleth at
Rome.

meringe of it Yet in generally, I remember the scope of it. He goeth aboue to dissuade the kynge from his supremicie. In his persuasions he is very whomlye, verye quycke and sharpe wyth the Kynge as these Cardinals wyll take well vpon theym. He fayeth that a kynge is an odious worde, and touched the place how god was offended with the Israelites for calling for a kyng.

Veryelyghtely he semeth to sette forth the title of a kynge. As though he shoulde meane: what is a Kinge? What shoulde a Kynge take vpon hym to redresse matters of religion? It pertayneth to oure holy father of Rome. A kynge is a name and a title rather suffered of God as an euell thynge, then alowed as a good thynge.

Callynge thys to remembraunce, it was an occasion that I spake altogether before. Nowe I wyll answere to thys. For the answere I muste somewhat ryppe the eyght Chapter of the fyrist boke of the Kynges. And that I mai haue grace, etc.



O come to ye opening of this mater. I must begynne at the begynning of the Chapter, that the vnlerned (although I am sure, here be a greate meany well learned) maye the better come to the vnderstandinge of the matter. *Factum est cum senuisset Samuel i. Regu. viii. fecit filios suos iudices populo.** etc. It came to passe when Samuell was stricken in age, he made hys sonnes Judges ouer Israell. Of Samuell I might seche a processe a far of, of ye storye of Elcana, who was hys father, and who was hys mother, Elcana hys father had two wyues, Anna and Phennenna, and dyd not put theym awaie, as men do nowe adayes.

A taunt (by the waye) to such as vse unlawfull diuorcements. Ther was debate betwene these two wyues. Phenenna in the doing of sacrifice, embrayded Anna bycause she was barren, and not fruitfull.

* And it came to pass, when sons judges over Israel.— Sam. Samuel was old, that he made his viii. i.

I myght take here occasiōn to entreate of the dutye betwene man and wyfe, whiche is a holy religyon, but not religiouselye kepte. But I wyll not enter into that matter at thys tyme. Well, in processe of tyme, God made Anna fruitfull, thorowe hyr deuoute prayer. She broughte forth Samuell, whoe by the ordinaunce of God, was made the hyghe pryste. Father Samuell a good man, a singular example, and singular patron, a manne alone, fewe suche men as father Samuell was. To be shorte he was nowe come to age, he was an old man, an impotente man, not able to go from place to place to minister iustice, he electes and chosēs two suffraganes, twoo coadiutours, two cohelyers, I meane not hallowers of belles, nor Christiners of belles, that is a popysh suffraganship, he made them to healpe hym, to dyscharge his office, he chose hys two sonnes rather then other, because he knewe them to be welbroughte vp in vertue, and learnynge, It was not for anye carnall affection, he cared not for hys renowne, or reuenewes, but he appoynted them for the ease of the people, the one for to supply hys place in Bethsabe, and the other in Bethleem.

As we haue now in England, for the wealthe of the Realme, two Lordes presidentes, Surelye, it is wel done, and a goodly order, I wold ther were a thyrd in an other place.

For the ease of hys people, good father Samuell, and to dyscharge hys offyce in places wher he coulde not come hym selfe, he fette hys twoo sonnes in offyce wyth hym, as hys suffraganes, and as hys Coadiutoures.

Here I myght take occasiōn to treate what olde and impotente Byshoppes should do, what olde preachers should do, when they come to impotency, to ioyne wyth them preachers preachers, not Belhalowers, and to departe, parte of theyre luyunge wyth theym.

I myghte haue dylated this matter at

Anna of bar-
ea made fru-
[it]ful and
mother to Sa-
muel.

Samuell be-
yngē aged
chose to hym
two suffrage-
nes to assyest
hym in hys
offyce.

Why he
chose hys
owne two
sonnes rather
then any o-
ther

Samuel ten-
deryngē the
ease of hys
people appo-
ynted two
offycers.

A third Lord
presydent
wold do wel

What the
impotent and
olde byshop-
pes shoule
do when they
are not able
to susteyne
the traynayle
and paynes

of preaching large. But I am honestelye preuented of thys commune place, and I am verye glad of it.

There are to many suche flescheders It was very well handeled the laste Sondaye. They that wyl not for the offyce sake receyue other, regarde more the flesche then the flocke.

Father Samuel, regarded not hys reuenewes. Our Amen, Lorde gyue them grace to be affected as he was, and to followe him. etc. Thoughe I faye that I would wishe mo Lorde presyndentes. I meane not

M. Latimer
woulde not
haue byshop-
pes and pre-
lates Lord
presyndentes

that I woulde haue prelates, Lordes presyndentes, nor that Lorde byshoppes shal be Lorde presyndentes. As touchynge that, I fayed my mynde and conscience the last yeare.* And al though it is fayed, *Præfunt*,

it is not mente that they shoulde be Lorde presyndentes,

The office of a president-shyp is a cuyll offyce, and it canne not be that one manne shal dyscharge bothe. Wel, it followeth in the texte. *Non ambulauerunt filii eius in uiis eius*, etc.† Hys sonnes walked not

in hys wayes, heare is the matter, here ye se the goodnes of Samuell, howe, when he was not able to take the paynes him selfe for theyr owne easse, he appoynted them Iudges neare them as it were in the further partes of hys Realme, to haue Iustyce ryghtly ministered. But what folowed.

Thoughe Samuell were good, and hys chyldren well brought vppe, looke what the world can do? Ah crafty world? Whome shal not thys worlde corrupte and deceyue at one tyme or other?

Samuel thoughte hys sonnes shoulde haue proued well, but yet Samuels sonne walked not in theyr fathers waye. Why? what then? Is the sonne alwayes bounde to walke in the fathers waye?

* [According to the old reckoning, the *Sermon on The Ploughers* (see references to this subject at pp. 27-29 of Ed. 1868) preached on 18th Jan., 1549, would by Latimer, preach- ing on 5th April following, be then referred as in 'the laste years' (old style.)]

† His sons walked not in his ways. —*Sam. viii. 3.*

The worlde
wyl corrupt
and deceyue
vs or we be
ware of it
the dyuell is
so crafty and
lucre is so
swete.

No, ye muste not take it for a generall rule. All sonnes are not to be blamed in theyre fathers wayes.

The sonne
is not alway-
es bounden
to walke in
the fathers,
wayes.

Ezechias dyd not folowe the steppes of his father Ahaz, and was well alowed in it. Iosias the beste kyng that euer was in Iewry, refourmed hys fathers wayes, who walked in worldly policye.

Ezechias did
not follow
the steppes
of his father
Ahaz
iii. Re. xviii.
Iosyas re-
foureid the
wayes of
hys father
Amon
iii. Re. xxii.
and. xxiii.

In hys youth, he toke a waye all Idolatrye, and purged hys Realme of it, and set a good order in al his Dominions, wrestled with Idolatrye.

He was but
eygth yeare
olde when he
beganne to
Raygne.

And althoughe hys father or hys grande father Manasses (it makes no matter whether) repented hym in the ende he had no tyme to refourme thynges, he left it to hys sonne to be done.

Iosias beganne and made an alteracion in hys chyldehode, he tourned al vpsydowne, he would suffer no Idolatrye to stand.

Therefore, you must not take it for a general rule, that ye sonne muste euer walke in his fathers wayes.

Here I wyll renewe, that whyche I sayed before of the styncked Iewes, the rebellious people (that is theyr tylde) they neuer spake so rebelliouslye, as to faye, they woulde not receyue any alteracion, tyll theyr kyng came to age. Muche lesse we Englyshe men, if (there be anye suche in Englande) maye be ashamed.

We are more
stynckyd
more rebellious
and stur-
dier then the
Iewes.

I wonder wyth what conscience folke can heare suche thinges and alowe it.

Thys Iosias made a notable alteration, and therfore take it not for a general rule, that the sonne shall always walke in hys fathers wayes.

Thys is no
rule to reken
vpon.

Thynke not because he was slayne in battayle, that God was displeased wyth hym. For herein God shewed hys goodnes to hym wonderfullye, who woulde not suffer hym to se the captiuite that he would bringe vpon the Israellites. He would not

Iosias was
slayne in bat-
tayle of Pha-
rao Necho
kyng of E-
gypt at Ma-
gyddo.
¶. Re. xlii.

hym to haue the syght, the fealyng, and the beholdynge of hys plage, he suffered hym to be taken away before, and to be slayne of the kynge of Egyp.

Wherfore a iuste man muste be glade when he is taken from misery. *Iustus si morte p̄aeoccupatius fuerit in refrigerio erit.** If a iuste man be preuented wyth deathe, it shal be to hys relyefe. He must thynke that he is one of those, whome the worlde is not worthye to haue, it came of a singular goodnesse of god, that he was by death delyuerged frome the syght of that captiuitie. Therfore take it not for a general rule, that the sonnes be alwaies bounde to walke in the fathers wayes.

Nolite in p̄aeceptis patrum uestrorum incedere.† Walke not in the commaundementes of youre fathers. For so it is fayed in another place of scripture. It is spoken to the reproche of Samuels sonnes that they walked not in hys waye, for he was a good man.

A wonderful thynge that these chyldren beyng so well brought vp should so fal and be corrupte, Yf the dyuell can preuayle and hath power agaynst them, that had so Godlye education, what vaantage hath he at them yat be brought vp iniquitie and couetousnes? It is a Prouerbe that *magistratus uirum commonistrat.*

Authoryte
and offyce
tryeth what
a man is.

Thys hathe
bene often
tymes vere-
fied and sen-
in prechers,
before they
were byshop-
pyd or benefi-
ced.

When I was a child, I sauored as a childe.

Do as the
most do, and
the fewest
shal wonder
at theym.

ryghte in office, he is the fellow, Samuell wold neuer

* The righteous is taken away from your fathers.—Ezek. xx. 19.
the evil to come.—I Cor. lvi. 2.

† Walk ye, not in the statutes of thought as a child.—2 Cor. xiii. 13.

Office and authoritye sheweth what a man is. A man knoweth not hym selfe, tyl he be tryed. Many there be that being without office can rebuke magistrates, and fynd faut with men that be in office and preeminence. After when it commeth to their chaunce to come to office them selues, then they haue taken out a newe lesson. *cum esse parvulus sapientiam ut par-*

ulus.‡ When I was a child, I sauored as a childe.

They wyll do then as other men do, they are come to haue experience, to be practitioners. The maydes chylde is euer best taughte, for he hath standes vp

ryghte in office, he is the fellow, Samuell wold neuer

* The righteous is taken away from your fathers.—Ezek. xx. 19.
the evil to come.—I Cor. lvi. 2.

† Walk ye, not in the statutes of thought as a child.—2 Cor. xiii. 13.

haue thought that hys sonnes shold haue bene so corrupted. It is a perillous thynge, a daungerous state to be a iudge. They felte ye smaker of the worlde, a perillous thynge. And therfore S Chrisostom sayth. *Miror si aliquis rectorum saluabitur.* I maruaile (sayeth he) yat ani ruler can be sauued. If the peril were wel considered men would not be so desirous as they be. The world ye world hath many subtil sleightes, it is a craftie thynge and verye deceitfull, a corrupter, and who is it whom the worlde doeth not corrupte and blynde at one tyme or other.

The state of a judge is daungerous and lucre is solickorous that he that once lyckes of it, leketh it.

The good man Nemo otherwyse called nobo-dy that dwel-leth wyth V-topia.

What was the waye they walked? *Declinauerunt post avaritiam.** That is one. Thei stouped after gayne, they turned a syde after lucre. What folowed? *Accepterunt munera.** They toke rewardes gyttes, brybes I should cal theym, for that is theyr ryghte name. What then? *Peruerterunt iudicium.** They turned Iustice vpsedowne. Eyther they would gyue wrong iudgemente, or els put of and delaye poore mennes matters.

They cal them rewardes but bribes is the fyrd letter of theyr Christian name.

These were theyr wayes, here is the Deuyles genealogye. A gradation of the Diuyles making. This is, *Scala inferni.* The ladder of hell.

The Diuels geanealogye the ladder of hell.

I tolde you before of *scala cali*, the ladder of heauen, I woulde you shoulde not forget it. The steppes thereof are set forthe in the tenth to the Romaynes. The fyrsyte is preachynge, then hearynge, then beleuyng, and laste of all Saluation. *Scala cali*, is a preachynge matter I tell you, and not a maffyng matter, goddes instrument of saluation, is preachynge.

Preachynge Henrynge Beleuyng and saluacion.

Here I moued you my Lordes, not to be greadye and outragiouse in enhaun- ynge, and raysinge of youre rentes, to the minishynge of the offyce of saluation. It

Wel moued and Godlye exhortation of M. Latimer but little minded or slow.

* And his sons walked not in his ways, but turned aside after lucre, and took bribes, and perverted iudg- ment.—*Sam. viii. 3.*

lye followed
for all that.

it is in Oxford
The studi of
diuinitie deca-
yed in Cam-
bridge

that they
seke luynges
a fewe gentylmen

The vsurped
supremytye
of the bysh-
[op] of Rome
wyl not be
kept out with
a lytle Eng-
lyshe dyui-
nitie

Here I
M. Latimer
is reasonabl
request for
poore schol-
lers ex[h]iby-
cions.

Wher vpon
we maye be-
stowe once
goodes wel,
and please
God wel

I requyre no more, but that ye bestowe so muche
Godlye, as ye were wonte to bestowe vngodlye.

It is a resonable peticion, for Goddes sake, looke
vpon it I say no more.

They that
haue least
nede haue
most heaþe

There be none nowe but greate mens
sonnes in Colledges, and theyr fathers looke
not to haue them preachers, so euerye
waye thys offyce of preachynge, is pyncht at.

woulde pytye a mans hert to heare that,
that I heare of the state of Cambrige, what
study diuinitie, but so many as of necef-
siti must furnysh ye Colledges. For their
lyuynges be so small, and vytaylee so dere,
that they tarry not ther, but go other where to
seke luynges and so they go aboute. Nowe therebe
a fewe gentylmen and they studye a little diuinitie.

Alas, what is that? it wil come to passe
that we shal haue nothynge but a lytle
Englyshe diuinitie, that wyl bryng the
Realme into a verye barbarousnes, and
vtter decaye of learnynge. It is not that,
I wiste, that wyl kepe oute the supremac-
ye of the byshoppe of Rome.

wyl make a supplicacion, that ye would
bestow so muche to the fyndyng of
schollers, of good wyttes, of poore mens
sonnes, to exercise the offyce of saluacion,
in releueng of scholers, as ye were wont
to bestowe in Pylgrimage matters, in trentals, in masses,
in purgatorye matters, Ye bestowed that lyberallye,
bountyfully, but thys was not wel spente.

You hadde a zeale but not *Secundum scientiam*.*

Not accordyng to knowledge. You may
be sure yf you bestowe youre goodes on
thys wyfe, ye shall bestowe it wel to
supporte and vpholde Goddes word,
wherin ye shal please God.

* For I bear them record that they have a zeal of God, but not accord-
ing to knowledge.—Rome. x. 3.

I wil speake no more of *Scala cali*, But I am fuer
thys is *Scala inferni*, the ryghte waye to hell, to be
couetous, to take bribes, and peruertere iustice. If a
iudge shoulde aske me the waye to hell, I woulde
shewe hym thys waye. Fyrste let hym be <sup>The ready
ways downe
to the deuyl</sup> a couetoufe man, let hys herte be poysoned
wyth couetousnes. Then let hym go a ^{in hell} lyttle further and take brybes, and laste peruertere
iudgemente. Loo, heare is the mother and the
daughter, and the daughters daughter. Auarice is
the mother, she brynges forthe brybe takynge, and
bribe takyng, peruertryng of iudgement.

Ther lackes a fourth thing to make vp the messe,
whyche so God helpe me if I were iudg,
shoulde be *Hangum tuum*, a tyburne
typpet to take wyth hym, and it were the
iudge of the kinges bench, my Lorde
chyefe Iudge of Englande, yea, and it were my
Lord Chaunceloure hym selfe, to tiburne wyth hym.

Ther was wyth in these. xxx, yeares a certain wyd-
dow, whych sodaynlye was attached, had to
pryson, indyted, condempned, and there
were certayne learned men that visited
her in the prisone. Oh I woulde ye woulde resorte
to Prysonnes. A commendable thynge in a chrysten
realme, I woulde wyshe there were curates
for prysonnes, that we myght faye, the
curate of Newegate, the curate of the
flet, and I woulde haue theym well waged for theyre
laboure. It is a holy daye worcke to vyset
the prisoners, for they be kepte from ser-
mons. Ther was that resorted to thys wo-
man, who, when she came to preson, was all on hyr
beades, and nothyng else, a popysh woman, and sauored
not of Iesu Christe. In processe she was so
applyed that she tasted. *Quam suavis est
dominus.** She had suche a sauore, suche a
swetenes and felynge that she thought it
longe to the daye of execution. She was wyth
Christe al ready, as touchyng fayeth.

A tyburne tip-
pet for brybe
takers and per-
uerters of iud-
gement.

The wydow
that was in
prison.

Ther shulde
be curaten
for presones.

A holy daye
worcke to vy-
set the preso-
ners.

all on hyr

The woman
turned from
papystrie by
the diligent
resort of the
learned, fre-
quentyng the
presone.

* That the LORD is gracious.—*1 Pet. ii. 3.*

She had suche a defyre that she fayed wyth saynt Paule. *Cupio dissolui et esse cum christo.*† I defyre to be ryd, and to be wyth Christ. The word of God had so wrought in hyr, when she was brought to punyfment, she defyred to confesse hyr faulte, she toke of hyr death, that she was gyltyleffe in that thynge she fuffered for, and hyr neyghbours woulde haue borne hyr wytnes in the same. She was alwayes an honeste ciuill woman, hyr neyghbours woulde haue gone on hir purgacion a greate waye.

They would nedes haue hir confess, then faith she. I am not gylty, wold ye haue me to make me gyltye, wher I am not? Yet for al thys, she was a trespasser, she had done a greate offence.

But before I go forwarde wyth thys, I must fyrt tel you a tale.

I hearde a good whyle ago, a tale of one, I fawe the man yat told me the tale not longe ago, in thys auditorye. He hath traueiled in mo countries then one.

He toulde me that there was once a pretour in A rych mer. Rome, Lorde mayre of Rome, a ryche chaunt cast in manne, one of the richest marchauntes in to the Castel Angel. all the cytye, and sodaynelye he was caste in the castle Aungell. It was herde of, and euerye man, whyspered in an others eare. What hath he done? Hathe he kylled any man? No. Hath he medled wyth Alam, oure holye fathers merchandice? No. Hathe he counterfaited our holye fathers Bulles. No. For these were hye treasons.

One rowned an other in the ear and sayd, *Erat diues.* He was a riche man. A greate fault. Here was a goodlye praye for that holye father. It was in Popes Iulius tyme, he was a greate warrioure. Thys praye woulde healpe hym to maynetayne hys warres, a ioly praye for oure holye father.

So thys woman was *Dives.* She was a rych woman, A gentleman of a long nose. she had hir landes by the Shiriffes nose. from suche a He was a gentilman of a longe nose.

* Having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ; which is far better.
—Phil. i. 23.

Such a cup, fuche a cruse. She would not depart from hir own. 'Thys Shyryffe was a couetuous man, a worldely man. The Judge at the enpanelynge of the queste, hadde hys grauelookes, and charged them wyth thys. It was the kynges matter, loke wel vpon it.

When it makes for theyr purpose, they haue the Kynge, the kinge, in their mouthes.

Wel, some what there was, ther was walkynge of angelles betwene them. I would wyshe that of fuche a Judge in Englande nowe, we might haue ye skin hanged vp. It were a goodly signe the sygne of the judges skynne. It shoulde be Loths wyfe, to all Judges that shoulde folow after. By thys ye may perceiue, it is possible for a manne to answere for him selfe, and be arraigned at the barre, and neuertheles to haue wronge. Yea, ye shall haue it in fourme of lawe, and yet haue wronge to. So it is possible in a case, for a manne that hath in hys absence atintament [attaintment]. to haue right, and no wronge.

The sygne
of the jud-
ges skynns

A man maye
answer for
him selfe and
yet haue
wronge, and
be absent, and
yet haue
ryghte.

I wil not say naye, but it is a good lawe for a man to answere for him selfe, thys is reasonable, allowable and good. And yet fuche an vrgent cause maye be, fuche a respect to a commune wealth that a man may rightlye be condemned in hys absence. There be fuche causes that a man may in hys absence be condemned, but not ofte, excepte they be such cases that the reason of the generall lawe maye be kepte. I am prouoked of some to condempne this lawe, but I am not able, so it be but for a time, and vpon wayghty consideracions, so that it be vsed rarely, seldomly, for auoydynge disturbance in the commune wealth, such an epiky and moderacion maye be vsed in it.

And neuertheles it is verye mete and requisite that a man shoulde answere for hym selfe.

We muste consider the ground of the lawe: for *Ratio legis, anima legis.* The reason of the law, is ye soule of the

The reason of
the lawe is
the soule of
the lawe.

law. Whi? what is the reson and ende of the lawe? It is thys, that no man shoulde be iniured. A man may in hys attayntmente haue no more wronge done hym then if he aunswere for hym selfe.

Ah then I am not able to saye, that in no wyse, and arrainement maye be tourned in to attayntement, A man may haue wronge and that in open iudgemente, and in forme of lawe, and yet alowed to answere for hym selfe: and euen so is possible he maye haue ryghte thoughe he neuer aunswere for hym selfe. I wyll not say but that the parlament houses both hye and lowe, may erre, and yet they may do wel, and

How we must take the doynges of the parliament. christen subiectes must take all thynges to the beste, and expounde theyr doynges well, althoughe they can not yelde, a reason for it, except their proceedings be manifestli wicked. For though they can not attayne to se for what purpose thynges be done, it is no good reasone that they be called euell done therefore. And is thys An vntrue argument. a good argumente, he is not alowed to answer for hym selfe in thys place or that place, where he wyll appoynte: Ergo, he is not alowed to answere for him selfe? No.

He myght haue aunswered the beste he coulde for hym selfe before a greate meanye, and haue hadde moe to, if he had requyred theym. Yea, and was commaunded vpon his allegiaunce to speake for hym selfe, and to make aunswere, but he woulde not, nedes he woulde come oute to Iudgemente, and appoynte the place hymselfe.

A manne that answeres for hym selfe at the barre, is not allowed hys manne of lawe to answere for hym, but he muste aunswere hym selfe. Yet in the Parlia-

Fre lyberty is graunted to speake in the Parliamente house. mente, although he were not there hym selfe, anye frende he had, had lyberty to aunswere for hym, franke, and fre, I know of olde the manner. The tenoure of the wryttes is thys, Euerye man to speake the best he knoweth of hys conscyence, for the kynges magesties honour, and the wealth of the realme. There were

in the Parliament in both houses, a greate manye learned men, consonable men, wyse men. When that man was attaynted there, and they hadde lybertye, there to say naye, to hys attayntmente yf they woulde. Sure I am the mooste allowed it, or else it coulde not haue gone forwarde.

These premis ses considered. I woulde haue you to beare suche a hart, as it becommeth christen subiectes. I knowe what men saie of me wel ynougue, I could pourge my selfe.

There is that prouokes me to speake ag[ainst] thys lawe of attayntemente, they faye I am not indyfferente. Surelye I woulde haue it to be doone rarely vpon some great respecte to the commune wealthe, for auoydynge of greater tumulte and peryll.

Saynt Paule was allowed to answere for hym selfe, yf Lisisias the tribune hadde not plucte him awaye from shewynge of hys matter, it hadde coste hym hys lyfe. Paule was allowed to answer for hym selfe. Where he was sauied by the magystrate, beynge but a pryuate manne. Wyll ye not alowe that some thynge be done as wel for sauynge of the magystrates lyfe? It behoues theym of the Parliament to looke well vpon the matter. And I for my parte thynke not but they dyd well, else I shoulde not yelde the dutye of a subiecte.

Some liken me to doctoure Shaw, that preached at Pauls croffe, that Kynge Edwardes sonnes were bastardes. M. Latimer likened to doctor Shaw. An easy matter for one of the counsell to induce Latimer to make a lie as doctour Shaw dyd. Me thinke you beynge the kynges seruaunt and hys offycer, shoulde thynke better on the Kynge, and hys councel, though I were lyghte of belefe. If he had bene a true man to hys mayster, he woulde neuer haue spoken it.

The counsayle nedes not my lye, for the defence of that, that they do. I canne beare it of my selfe. Concerninge my selfe, that, that which I haue spoken, hath done some good.

You wyl faye thys. The Parliamente house are wyser then I am, you myghte leaue theym to defence

of theym selues. Althoughe the men of the Parliament house can defende them selues, yet haue I spoken thys of a good zeale, and a good ground of the Admyralles wrytting, I haue not fayned, nor lyed one iote. Vse your Iudgement and languages, as it becommeth Christian subiectes.

I wyll nowe leaue the honourable counsayle to answeare for themselues. He confessed one facte, he woulde haue hadde the gouernaunce of the kynges maiestye. And wot ye why? He sayed he would not in his minoritie haue hym brought vp lyke a warde. I am sure he hath bene brought vp so Godly, wyth such Sholemasters as neuer kynge was in Englande, and so hathe prospered vnder them, as neuer none dyd. I wotte not what he mente by hys bryngyng vp lyke a warde, onles he woulde haue hym not to go to hys boke and learne as he doeth.
 Kynges shulde be learnid Nowe woo worth hym, yet I wyl not say so neyther. but I pray God amende hym, or els God sende hym short lyfe, that woulde haue my soueraygne not to be brought vp in learnynge, and woulde plucke hym from hys booke. In aduertyse the therfore my fellowe subiecte, vse thy tonge better, and expounde well the doynges of the magistrates.

Now to the purpose, for these thynges lette me of my matter, and yet they be necessarye.

Some saye preachers should not meddle wyth suche matters, but dyd not oure Sauioure Iesus Christe medle wyth matters of Iudgements, when he spake of the wycked Judge, to leaue ensample to vs that followe, to do the same?

Ladye couetousnes is a chyldynge woman. Ye se here, that Ladye couetousnes is a fruitfull woman, euer chyldynge, and euer bryngynge forthe her fruities. It is a true sayinge. *Radix omnium malorum avaritia.** Couetousnes is the roote of all wykednes. One wyl say peraduenture, you speake vnsemelye and in conuenientlye so to be agaynste the offycers, for takynge of rewardes in doyng pleasure.

* The love of money is the root of all evil.—*Tim. vi. 10.*

Ye confyder not the matter to the bot-
tome. Theyr offyces be bought for great
sommes, nowe howe shall they receyue
theyre money agayne, but by brybynge ye woulde haue
them vndone. Some of them gaue. C.C. [two hundred]
poundes some. v.C. [fife hundred] pounde, some.
ii. M [two thousand] pound, And how shal they
gather vp thys money agayne, but by healpynge
them selues in theyre offyce. And is it so trowe ye?
Are ciuile offyces bought for monei?*
Lorde God. Who would haue thought
that? Let vs not be to hafti to credit it
For then we haue the old prouerbe, *Om-
nia uenalia Romæ*. All thynges are folde
for mony at rome, and rome is come home to oure
own dores. If thei bei, thei must nedes sel, for it is
wittely spoken. *Vendere iure potest, emerat ille
prius*, he may lawefullly sel it, he bought it be-
fore. God forfend that euer any such enormitie
shuld be in England, that ciuile offyces shoulde be
boughte and foulde, wher as men shulde haue them
gyuen them for theyr worthines, I would the kinges
maiestye shuld feke thorow his realme for mete men,
and able men, worthye to be in offyce, yea
and gyue them liberally for theyr paynes,
and rather geue them money to take the
offyce in hande, then they to geue money for it. Thys
byinge of offyces is a makynge of bry-
bery, it is an enducynge, and enfor-
ynge, and compelling of men to bryberye.
Holye scripture qualifyeth the offycers and sheweth
what maner of men they shulde be and of what
qualites, *Viros fortes*,† Some Translacions
haue *Viros sapientes*.† The Englyshe
translacion hath it verye well. Menne
of actyuite that haue stomakes to do theyr office, they
must not be milke soppes, nor whyte lyuered knyghtes,
they muste be wyse, hartye, hardye men
of a good stomake. Secondarely, he quali-

He that byeth
dere must ne-
des sel theraf-
ter

* Ye must vn-
derstande,
'yea, as well
as cyuyl oyle'
to make
the sentence
perfect.

Mete men
able, and
worthy to be
put in offyce

It is a brybe-
ry to bye of-
fices.

What man-
ner of men of-
ficers shulde
be.

They muste
haue, iii. pro-
perties.

* Thou shalt provide out of all the men of truth, hating covetousnesse.—
people able men such as fear God, Exod. xviii. 22.

fyeth them wyth the feare of god. He saieth they must be *Timentes deum.** fearyng God. For yf he feare God, he shalbe no bryber, no paruerter of iudgemente, faythful. Thyrdryl they must be chosen offycers. *In quibus est veritatis.** In whome is trueth. If he faye it, it shalbe done. Fourthly. *Qui oderunt auaritiam.** Hatynge couetousnes, farre from it, he wyll not come nere it, that hateth it. It is not he that wyll geue. v. C.

Fyue C. po-
unde, geuen
for an offyce

[fife hundred] pounde for an offyce. Wyth these qualityes Goddes wyfdom woulde haue magistrates to be qualifed. Thys commeth from the deuyllies confistory to pay. v. C [fife hundred] poundes for one offyce. If they paye so much, it must nedes

They that
are mete to
beare offyce
wold be sou-
ght out and ly-
berally feed
Sellynge of
offyces and
sellyng of be-
nefyces are
both one.
that is to say
Symony o-
therwyse
called Se
money.

followe that they take brybes, that they be brybe takers. Suche as be mete to beare office feke them out, hyere them, geue them compotente and lyberall fees that they shall not nede to take anye brybes. And if ye be at selling ciuile offices, ye are as they which sell theyr benefyces, and so we shal haue. *Omnia uenalia.* Al thinges boughte for money. I meruaile the ground gapes not and deuours vs, how be it, we ought not to maruayle,

surely it is, the great lenitie of god that suffers it. Oh Lorde in what case are we If the great men in Turky shuld vse in theyr religion of Mahomete to fel as our patrons commonlye sell benefyces here, the offyce of preaching, the office of saluacion it shoulde be taken

The Turke
would not
suffer that
we do.

as an intollerable thing. The turke would not suffer it in his common wealth. Pa

trons be charged to se the office done,

and not to feke a lucre and a gaine by his patron-

The patrons
deutye, in be-
stowyng of
his benefyce.

ship. Ther was a patron in England (when it was) that had a benefyce fallen into hys hande and a good brother of mine came

vnto hym and brought hym. xxx. Apples in a dysh,

The merye and gaue them hys man to carrie them to

* Such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousnes Exod. xviii 1.

hys mayster. It is like he gaue one to his man for his laboure to make vp the game, and so ther was xxxi. This man commeth go his mayster and presented hym wyth the dyshe of Apples, saynge. Syr fuche a man hathe sente you a dyshe of frute, and defyreth you to be good vnto hym for fuche a benefyce. Tushe tushe, quod he, thys is no apple matter. I wyll none of hys apples. I haue as good as these (or as he hath any) in myne owne orchearde. The man came to the pryste agayne, and toulde hym what hys mayster fayed. Then quod the priest, defyre hym yet to proue one of them for my sake, he shal find them much better then they loke for. He cut one of them and founde ten peces of golde in it. Mary quod he, thys is a good apple. The pryste standyng not farre of, herynge what the Gentle man fayed, cryed out and answered, they are all one apples I warrantee you Syr, they grewe all on one tree, and haue all one taste. Well, he is a good fellowe, let hym haue it quode the patronne, etc. Get you a grafte of thys tre and I warrantee you it shall stand you in better steade then all Sayncte Paules learnynge. Well, let patrons take hede for they shall aunswere for all the soules that peryshe throughe theyr defaute. There is a faying that ther be a greate maenye in Englande that saye there is no soule, that beleue not in the immortalitye of mans soule, that thyncke it is not eternal, but lyke a dogges soule, that thynke there is neyther heauen nor hell. Oh Lord, what a wayghtye, matter is thys? What a lamentable thynge in a christen common wealth? I can not tell what they faye, but I perceyue by their worckes that they thyncke so, or elles they woulde neuer do as they do. These sellers of offices shew that they beleue that there is neyther hell nor heauen. It is taken for a laughynge matter, wel, I wyl gooe on. Nowe to the Chapiter. The chyldren of Israell came to Samuell and fayed. *Seniisli.** Thou

tale of the
patrone that
sold a benefy-
ce for a deyn-
tye dyshe of
Apples

A graft of
gold to get
a benefyce
wyth al is
worth a great
deale of lea-
rnyng.

The errour
of such as be-
lieue not the
immortalitie
of Soules.

* Behold, thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: now make us a king to judge us like all the nations.—1 Sam. viii. 5.

arte growen into age. Geue vs a King? Thy sonnes walke not in thy wayes. What a heuynes was thys to father Samuels herte, to here that hys sonnes (whom he hadde so well brought vppe) shoulde swarue from hys wayes that he had walked in. Father Samuel goeth to god to know hys wyll and pleasure in thys matter, God answered, let them haue a Kynge. They haue not caste the awaye but me, that I shoulde not raygne i. Sam. viii. ouer them. Thys is theyr grounde that faye a kyng is an odiousse thing and not acceptable before the face of God. Thus they force and violent thys place to make for theyr purpose, wher no such thynge is mente.

A place vyo-
lentyd and
forsyd to ser-
ue for other
purpose then
it was euer
meant.

Shewe the Israelites (sayth god) and testify to them a Kynges authorite, and what a thing a kyng is, and what a kinge will do. And yat wyl not perswade them. I wyll not here them hear after, when they shal crie vnto me. I muste nedes confess that the Iewes trespassed against almighty

Wherin the
entent of the
Iewes, dyd
conyst

or in anye

The Iewes
offendyd in
the thynges

God in asking of a King. But hear is the matter, in what thynge ther offence stode, whether absolutelye in askynge a kynge, other circumstaunce. It was in a circumstaunce. They fayed not. Aske vs a kynge of God: but make vs a kynge to iudge vs as al other nacionis haue. They would haue a Kynge of theyr owne swinge and of theyr owne election, as though they paste not of God. In a nother poynte there was prude. They would be lyke the heathen and iudged vnder kinges as thei were. Thyrdly, they offended God because they asked a kynge to the iniury and wronge of good father Samuel to depose hym, so thys was a wrong toward Samuel. It

A comparison
betwene Sa-
muel and his
sonnes, and
E[ly] and his
sonnes.

was not with Samuell and hys children, lyke as wyth Ealy and his children Ophenes and Phines. They were cruel who wyth hokes takyng the fleshe out of the pottes when that sacrifice was offered to brought the people into a contempt of Gods

They were lecherers. Theyr synne were manifestlye and notoriously knownen: but theyr father Elye knowynge and herynge of it dyd blame them, but nothinge to purpose, he dyd not ernestly and substancially chastise them, and therefore he was iustlye deposid of God. The synnes of Samuelles sonnes were not knownen, they were not so notorious, wherfore it was not wyth father Samuell as it was wyth Elye, hys sonnes fautes were takynge of brybes, and peruertrynge of iudgements. Ye knowe that, bryberye is a secrete faute, and therefore it was not knownen. It was done vnder a coloure and a pretence of iustice, hidlye and couertly done. Therfore because it stode in brybes it was not like in Samuell as in Ely. It is a daungerous thynge to be in offyce for. *qui attingit picem coinquinabitur ab ea,* He yat medleth wyth pitch is like to be *lyke pyche.* Brybes are spotted with it. Bribes may be assembled to pitch, for euen as pytche dothe pollute theyr handes that medle with it: so brybes wyl bryng you to peruertrynge of iustyce. Beware of pytch, you iudges of the worlde, brybes wyl make you peruerit iustice. Why you wil say. We touche none. No mary. But my Mystres your wyfe hath a fyne fynger she toucheth it for you or els you haue a seruaunt a *Muneribus* ~~at~~ he wyl say yf you wyl come to my master and offer him a yoke of oxen, *Anglice a re-cleyuer of his masters bry-bes.* you shal spedne never the worse but I thincke my Mayster wil take none, when he hath offered them to ye maister, then commes another seruaunt and fayes. If you wyl bring them to the clarke of the kichen, you shall be remembred the better. Thys is a fryerly fassion that wyl receyue no monye in theyr handes but wyl haue it put vpon theyr sleues. A goodly rag of popyshe religion. They be lyke graye fryers, they wyl not be sene to receyue no brybes them sleues but haue other to recyue for them.

Ely sonnes
were leache-
ters and many-
fest offenders.
i. Samuel

Samuels
Sonnes wer
brybers and
peruerters of
iudgement

Anglice a re-
cleyuer of his
masters bry-
bes.

A fryerly fa-
shion in refu-
syng of bry-
bes. A good
ly rage or po-
pyris religion

Thoughe Sa[n]uell sonnes were priuye brybers and kepte the thyngye verye close, yet the crye of the people brought it to Samuell, It was a hyd kynde of synne. For men in thys poynte, woulde face it and brace it and make a shewe of vpryght dealynge, when

But such
men carrie
pryde in their
bosomes that
accuseth them.

Samuel
woulde not
be partaker
of his sonnes
offences.

they be most gyltye, Neuerthelesse, thys gere came out. Oh wycked sonnes, that brought both theyr father to deposicion and them selues to shame. When Samuel herde of theyr faut, he went not about to excuse theyr fautes. He woulde not beare wyth hys sonnes. He woulde not.

Communicare peccatis alienis. Be partaker wyth his sonnes offences, he fayed. *Ego feni, ecce filii mei vobiscum sunt.** As Ione as he hearde of it, he delyuered hys sonnes to the people to be punyshed. He wente not aboute to excuse them, nor fayed not, thys is the fyrist tyme, beare wyth them, but presented theym by and by to the people sayinge: Loe here they be, take theym, do wyth theym accordynge to theyr desertes. Oh. I woulde ther were no more bearers of other mens synnes, then this good father Samuell was. I hearde of late of a notable bloudshed. *Audio* fayeth S. Paule and so do I. I know it not, but I heare of it. Ther was a searcher in london, which executynge his office displeased a marchaunt man, in so much that when he was doinge his office, they were at wordes, the marchant man threatned hym, the searcher fayed, the kyng shuld not lose hys custome. The marchant goes me home and sharpe[n]s his woodknife, and comes a gaine and knockes hym on ye head and killes him, thei yat told me yat tale fai it is winked at, thei loke thorow ther fyngers and wil not se it.

Weyther it be taken vp wyth a pardon or no I can not tel, but this I am fure, and yf ye beare wyth such matters the ȝeuil shal bear you awai to hel. Bloudshed and murder would haue no bearing. It is a heinous thyng

* I am old and grayheaded; and, 'behold, my sonnes with you.—2 Sam. xii. 2.

bloudshedyng and especially voluntary murder and prepensed murder. For in Numerye God sayeth it poluteth the whole realme. *Polluitur illa terra, etc. et non potest expiari sine fanguine.** The lande cannot be purged nor clensed agayne tyl his bloud be shed that shed it. It is the offyce of kyng to se such murders punished with death. *Non fruſtra geſtat gladium.*† What wyl ye make of a kynge? He beareth a fwerde before hym, not a Pecokes fether. I go not a bout to styrre you nowe to crudelitye, but I speake agaynſte bearyng of bloudshed. Thys bearyng muste be loked vpon. In certayne causes of murther such great circumſtaunces may be, that the kynge may pardon a murther. But if I were worthye to be of counſaylle, or if I were asked myne aduife, I wolde not haue the kynge to pardon a voluntarye murther, a prepensed murther.

Bloudſhedding and prepenſed muſtther would not be borne with all.

The kyng beareth a ſword before him and not a Pecokes fether.

I can tell where one man flew an other, in a tounſhyp, and was attached vpon the fame. xii. men were impaneled, the man hadde frendes, the Shryue laboured the bench, the xii. men ſtacke at it and fayed, excepte he woulde diſburſe. xii crownes they woulde fynde hym gyltye.

Meanes were found that the xii. crownes was payed. The queſt commes in and fayes not gyltye.

Here was a not gyltye for xii. crownes. This is bearyng, And ſome of the bench were hanged, thei were wel ferued. This makes men bolde to do murder and slaughter. We ſhoulde reſerue murderynge tyll we come to oure ennemyes, and the Kynge bydde vs fight. He that wolde be ſturre him than, were a preti fellow in dede. Crownes?

If theyr crownes were ſhauen to the ſhoulders they were ferued well inoughe. I knew where a womanne was got wyth chylde, and was a ſhamed at the matter, and wente into a ſecrete place, where ſhe hadde no

* For blood it defileth the land: the blood of him that shed it.—Numb. The land cannot be cleansed of xxxv. 33.
the blood that is ſhed there in, but by † He beareth not the ſword in vain.—Rom. xiii. 4.

women at her trauail and was deliuered of thre chyldren at a byrthe.

She wrounge theyr neckes and caste theym into a water, and so kylde her chyldren. Sodaynelye, she was gaunte agayne, and her neyghboures suspectynge the matter caused her to be examened, and she graunted all. Afterwarde she was rayned at the barre for it, and dyspatched and founde not giltye, throughe bearynge of friendes and brybynge of the iudge.

Where at the same seffyons, another poore womanne was hanged for stealyng a fewe ragges of a hedg, that were not worthe a crowne.

There was a certayne gentleman a professour of the word of God (he spedde neuer the better for that ye maye be sure) whoo was accused of murtheryng of a manne, where vpon he was cast into pryon. And by chaunce as he was in pryon one of hys frendes came vnto hym for to visite hym, and he declared to hys frende that he was neuer gilty in the murtheringe of the man. So he wente hys wayes, the gentle man was arayned and condempned, and as he wente to hys execution, he sawe hys frendes seruaunte, and said vnto him. Commende me to thy master, and I pray the tel hym, I am the same man styl I was when he was wyth me.

And if thou tary a whyle, thou shalt se me dye. There was fute made for thys mannes pardon, but it

An euyll
Shryue may
do somewhat
for hys frend
in a Shyre, he
may helpe to
hange vp the
gylties.

coulde not be gotten. Belike the Shriues or some other bare hym no good wyll. But he dyed for it. And afterwarde I beyng in the Tower, hauyng leaue to come to the Lieuetenautes table, I hearde hym saye that ther was a man hanged afterwarde, that kylled the same manne for whome this Gentylman was put to death. O Lord what bearyng what bolstering of naughtye matters is thys in a Chryftian realme? I defyre youre Maiestie to remedye the matter, and God graunt you to se redres in this realme in your owne person.

An Apostro-
phe to the
kyng for re-
dresse of lea-
nyng and bol-

Althoughe my Lord Protector I doubt not and the reste of the counsayle do in the

meane whyle all that lyeth in them to redresse things. I would such as be rulers, noble men and maisters shold be at thys poynt with theyr seruautes to certify them on thys sort. If anye man go about to do you wrong I wyl do mi best to helpe you in your right. But if thou breke the law thou shalte haue iustice. If ye wyll be manquellers, murderers, and traungressours, loke for no bearynge at my handes. A straunge thynge. What nede wee in the vengeaunce to burden ourselues wyth other mennes synnes? Haue we not synnes inowe of oure owne? What neade haue I to burden my selfe wyth other mennes synnes? I haue burdens and. ii. heapes of synnes. One hepe of knownen finnes, an other of vknownen synnes. I had nede to say. *Ab occultis meis munda me domine** O Lord deliuer me from mi hidden and my vknowe[n] synnes.

Then if I beare with other mennes synnes, I muste saye Deliuer me frome my other mennes synnes. A straung fayinge, from my other mens finnes. Who beareth wyth other folkes offences, he communicateth wyth other folkes synnes. Men haue finnes inough of their owne, althoughe they beare not and bolster vp other men in their naughtines, thys bearinge, this bolsterryng and lokyng thorowe their fingers: is naught. What the fayr happe shold I (or any else) encrease my burden. Myne other mens synnes forgyue me O Lord.

A straunge language they haue hyd syns of theyr owne inough althoughe they beare not wyth gyltines of other mens synnes.

Oh father Samuell would not beare hys owne sonnes. He offered hys owne sonnes to punishment. And sayd. *Ecce filii mei vobiscum sunt.†* Euen at the fyfste tyme he sayed. Lo, here they be, I discharge my selfe, take them vnto you, and as for my parte.

Prosto sum loqui coram domino et Christo eius.‡ I am

* Cleanse thou me from secret faults.—Psa. xix. 12.
† Behold, here I am: witness against me before the Lord, and before his anointed: whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken?
‡ Sam. xii. 2.

here ready to answere for my selfe, before the Lord and hys anointed. Behold here I am, record of me before the Lorde. *Vtrum cuiusquam bouem. etc.* Whether I haue taken any mans oxe, ani mans asse, or whether I haue done any man wronge, or hurte anye man, or taken any bribes at anye mans hande I canne commende the Englysh translation that doth interprete *munera* bribes, not gystes. They answered, naye forsooth. We knowe no such thinges in you. *Testis est mihi deus,** saieth he, God is witnes, *Quod nihil inueneritis in manu mea.** That you haue found nought in my handes. Fewe suche Samuels are in Englande nor in the world.

Why dyd Samuell thys? marye to purge hym selfe, he was enforced to it, for he was wrongfullye deposed.

Then bi this ye mai perceiue the fault of the Iewes, for they offended not God in askynge for a kinge but for asking for a kinge to the wrongyng and deposicion of good father Samuel. If after Samuels death the people had asked of God a kyng they hadde not faulted, but it is no smale faute to put an innocent out of his office. Kyng Dauid likewyse commaunded hys people to be numbred, and therewyth offended God greuously. Why? might he not knowe the numbre of hys people? Yes, it was not the numbringe of the people that offended God, for a king may numbre hys people, but he dyd it of a pride of an elation of mynd, not according to Gods ordinaunce, but as hauinge a trust in the numbre of hys men, thys offended God.

Lykewise the Iewes asked a kynge, and therewyth they offended not God. But they asked hym with suche circumstaunces, that God was offended wyth them.

It is no smale faute to putte a iuste man oute of hys office, and to depose hym vnworthely.

or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received *any* bribe to blind mine eyes therewith? and I will repre it you —[†] Sam. xii. 3.

* And they said, Thou hast not defrauded us, nor oppressed us, neither

hast thou taken ought of any man's hand.

† And he said unto them, the Lord is witness against you, and his anointed is witness this day, that ye have not found ought in my hand. And they answered, He is witness. —[‡] Sam. xii. 4, 5.

To chose a Kynge contraryinge the ordinaunce of God is a castyng away of God and not of a kyng.

Therfore doubt not, but the tytle of a kynge, is a lawefull thynge, is a lawefull tytle, as of othermaiestrates. Onelye let ye kings take hede that thei do as it becometh Kynges to do, that thei do their office wel. It is a great thing, a chargeable thynge. Let them beware that they do not. *Communicare peccatis alienis.**

That they beare not wyth other mens faultes for they shal geue a strayte accounte for all that perisheth, thorowe theyr negligence. We perceyue nowe what thys texte meaneth.

It is wrytten in the lafte of Iudicum. *In aiebus illis non erat rex in Israel.*† In those dayes there was no kynge in Israel euerye manne dyd that whyche semed ryght in hys owne eyes. Men were then allowed to do what they woulde. When men maye be alowed to do what they wyl, then is it as good to haue no king at al. Here is a wonderfull mater, that vnpreeching prelats shuld be suffered so long. They can alledge for them selues. vii C. [seven hundred] yeares. Thys whyle the Realme had bene as good to haue no kyng, likewise these brybing iudges hathe bene suffered of a long tyme, and then it was, *Quasi non fuisset rex in anglia.* To suffer this is asmuch to say, There is no king in England, it is the dutye of a kynge to haue al states set in order to do their office. I haue troubled you to long. I wil make an end brefly. *Beati qui audiunt verbum.*‡ Blessed be thei yat hear the word of god, but so that thei folowe it, and kepe it in credite, in memori, not to depraye it and flaunder it, and bring the preachers out of credite, but that folowe it in theyr life, and liue after it. He
 graunt you al that blesfing
 that made both you
 and me. A-
 men.

* Neither be partaker of other
 man's sins. -1 Tim. v. 22.

+ In those days there was no king
 in Israel. -Judg. xxi. 25.

‡ Luke xi. 28.

The sitte

Sermon of Mayster Hughe

Latimer, whgh he preached be-
fore the kynges Maiesty wyth
in hys Graees Palaie at
Westminster the
xii. daye of
Aprill.



*Vacunque scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.** Al thinges that are written, they are written, to be our doctrine. What doctrine is written for vs in the. viii, Chapter of the fyrd boke, of the kynges, I dyd partly shewe vnto you (most honorable audience) this day sen-

night, of that good man father Samuell, ye good iudge howe good a man he was, what helpers and coadiutours, he toke vnto him, to haue hys offyce well discharged. I tolde you also of the wyckednes of hys sonnes, howe they toke bribes, and lyued wyckedlye, and by that meanes, brought both theyr father, and them selues to deposition. And howe the people dyd offende Gode in asking a Kynge in father Samuellis tyme. And howe father Samuel was put from his offyce, who deserued it not. I opened to you also, howe father Samuel cleares hym selfe, that he know not ye fauts of his sonnes he was no bearer with his sonnes he was fory for it, when he herde it, but he wold not beare with them in their wickednes. *Fili mi vobiscum sunt.†* my sons are with you faith he. Do wyth theym accordynge to theyr desertes, I wyl not maintayne them, nor beare with them. After that he cleares him self at the kinges fete, that the people had nothinge to burthen

* Rom. xv. 4.

† : Sam. xii. 8.

hym with al, neyther money, nor money worth. In treatinge of that part, I chaunced to shewe you, what I heard of a man that was flayne, and I heare faye it was not well taken.

Forsoth I entend not to empayre anye mannes estimation or honestye, and they that enforce it to that, enforce it not to my meanyng. I sayd I heard, but of suche a thynge, and toke occasion by that, that I heard, to speake agaynste the thynge, that I knewe to be noughe, that no man should beare with any man to the mayntenaunce of voluntary and prepensed murder. And I here faye fyns, the man was otherwise an honest man, and they that spake for hym, are honest men. I am inclinable inoughe to credyte it. I spoke not by cause I woulde haue anye mannes honestye impayred. Onelye I dyd as Saynt. Paule dyd, who hearynge, of the Corinthyans, that there shoulde be contencions and myfordre among them, dyd wryte vnto theym that he harde, and there vpon by occasion of hearynge he set furth verye holosome doctrine of the supper of the Lorde. We might not haue lacked that doctrine I tel you. Be it so the Corinthians had no suche contencions among them, as Paule wrote of, Be it so, they had not misfordred them selues, it was neyther of nor on, to that that Paule sayed. The matter laye in that, that vpon hearynge he would take occasion to set out the good and true doctrine. So I did not affirme it to be true yat I hard. I spake it to aduertise you, to beware of bearinge, wyth wylful and prepensed murder. I wold haue nothing enforced against any man. This was myne entent and meanyng. I do not knowe, what ye call chaunce medly in the lawe, it is not for my studye. I am a scholer in scripture in gods boke, I study that I knowe what voluntary murder is before God. If I shall fal out wyth a man. He is angyre wyth me, and I wyth hym, and lackynge oportunitie and place, we shall put it of for that tyme, in the meane seafon I prepare my wepon, and sharpe

it agaynst a nother tyme, I fwell and boyle in thys passion towardes hym. I feke hym, we medle together, it is my chaunce by reson my weapon is better then his, and so furth, to kyl him, I geue hym his dethes stroke, in my vengeaunce and anger.

Thys call I voluntarye murder in scripture, what it is in the lawe I can not tell. It is a greate synne, and therefore I call it voluntarye. I remember what a greate Clarke wrytteth of thys.

Omne peccatum adeo est Voluntarium ut nisi sit voluntarium non sit peccatum.

Euerye synne (sayeth he) is so voluntarye, that if it be not voluntarye, it can not be called synne. Synne is no actuall synne, if it be not voluntarye. I would we woulde all knowe oure faultes and repente, that that is done, is done, it can not be called backe agayne. God is mercifull, the Kynge is mercitull, heare we maye repente, thys is the place of repentaunce. When we are gone hence, it is to late then to repent. And let vs be content wyth such order as the magystrates shall take. But fuer it is a perillous thing to beare wyth anye suche matter. I toulde you what I hard faye, I woulde haue no mans honestye empayred by me tellynge. I harde faye fyns of a nother murder, that a Spanyarde shoulde kyll an Englisheman, and ronne hym thorowe wyth hys fwerde: they faye he was a tall man. But I here it not that the Spanyarde was hanged for hys laboure. If I had, I woulde haue tould you it to. They fell out, as the tale goeth, about a whore. O Lord what whordom is vsed nowe a dayes. As I here by the relacion of honeste men, whyche tell it not after a worldye forte, as thoughe they reioyced at it, but heuely, wyth heuy hertes, howe God is dyshonored by whoredome in thys cytie of London. Yea the bancke, when it stode, was neuer so commune. If it be true that is toulde, it is maruayle yat it doeth not fincke, and that the earth gapeth not and swalloweth it vp. It is wonderfull that the citye of London doeth suffer

such whordom vnpunished. God hath suffered long of hys great lenitie, mercye, and benyngnitye, but he wyl punishe sharply at length, if we do not repente. There is sum place in London, as they faye, *immunitie, impunitie*. What should I call it? a preueledged place for whoredome. The Lorde Mayer hath nothyng to do there, the Sheriffes, thei can not medle wyth it. And the queste, they not enquire of it, and there men do brynghe theyr whores, yea other mennes wyues, and there is no reformacion of it.

There is suche dysyng howses also, they faye, as hath not bene wonte to be, where yong Gentlemenne dysse away their thrifte, and where dysyng is, there are other folyes also.

For the loue of God lette remedye be hadde, lette vs wrestle and stryue agaynst synne?

Menne of Englande in tymes past, when they woulde exercyse theym selues (for we must nedes haue some recreation, oure bodyescanne not endure wythoute some exercyse) they were wonte to goo a brode in the fyeldes a shooptyng, but nowe is turned in to glossyng, gullyng, and whoring wythin the houffe.

The arte of shutyng hath ben in tymes past much estemed in this realme, it is a gyft of God that he hath geuen vs to excell all other nacions wyth all. It hath bene goddes instrumente, whereby he hath gyuen vs manye victories agaynst oure enemyes. But nowe we haue taken vp horyng in tounes, in steede of shutyng in the fyeldes. A wonderous thynge, that so excellente a gift of God shoulde be so lytle estemed. I defyer you my Lordes, euen as ye loue the honoure, and glory of God, and entende to remoue his indignacion, let ther be fente fourth some proclimacion, some sharpe proclimacion to the iustices of peace, for they do not their dutye. Iustices now be no iustices, ther be manye good actes made for thys matter already. Charge them vpon their allegiance yat this singular benefit of God maye be practised, and that it be not turned into bollyng,

glossyng and whoryng wythin the townes, for they be negligente in executyng these lawes of shuting. In my tyme, my poore father, was as diligent to teach me to shote, as to learne anye other thynge, and so I thynke other menne dyd theyr children. He taughte me how to drawe, how to laye my bodeye in my bowe, and not to drawe wyth strength of armes as other nacions do, but with strength of the bodeye I had my bowes boughte me accordyng to my age and strength as I encreased in them, so my bowes were made bigger, and bigger, for men shal neuer shot well, excepte they be broughte vp in it. It is a goodly art, a holsome kynde of exercise, and much commended in phisike. Marcilius Sycinus in hys boke *de triplici uita* (it is a greate while fins I red hym nowe) but I remembre he commendeth this kinde of exercise, and sayth, that it wrestleth agaynst manye kyndes of diseases. In the reuerence of God, let it be continued. Let a Proclamation go furth, chargynge the Iustices of Peace, yat they se fuche Actes and statutes kept, as were made for this purpose. I wyl to my matter. I entend this day to entreate of a pece of scripture, written in the begynnyng of the. v. Chapter of Luke. I am occasioned to take thys place by a boke sent, to the Kynges May[e]sty that deade is, by Mayster Poel. It is a texte, that he doeth greatlye abuse, for the supremitye. He rackes it, and vyonentes it, to serue for the mayntenaunce of the byshop of Rome. And as he did enforce the tother place, that I entreated of last, so dyd he inforce thys also, to serue hys matter. The storye is thys.

Our Sauioure Christe was come nowe to the bancke of the water of Genezareth.

The people were come to hym and flocked aboute hym to here hym preache.

And Iesus toke a boote that was standyng at the poole, it was symonnes boote, and wente into it. And sittynge in the boote, he preached to them that were on the bancke. And whan he had preached and taught

them, he spake to Simon and bade hym launch out fourther into the depe, and lose hys nettes, to catche fyshe. And Symon made aunswere, and fayed. Mayster, we haue labored all nyght, but we caught nothing howe be it at thy commaundement because thou byddeſt vs, we wyll go to it agayne. And so they dyd, and caught a greate draught, a miraculus draught ſo much that the net bracke, and they called to theyr fellowes that were bye, for they had. ii. botes to come to healpe them, and they came and filled both theyr botes ſo full, that they were nygh drounyng.* Thys is the storye: That I maye declare thys texte ſo, that it may be to the honoure of God and edification of youre ſoules and myne boeth. I ſhall defier you to healpe me wyth your prayer in the whiche. etc.

Factum eſt autem. (Sayth the text) *cum turba irrueret in eum.** Sayncte Luke telles the storye, and it came to paffe, when the people preſed vpon him, ſo that he was in perill to be caſt into the pond they riſhed ſo faſte vpon hym and made ſuſh throng to him. A wonderous thynge, what a deſyre the people had in thofe dayes to heare oure ſauioure Christe preache, and the cauſe may be gathered of the latter end of the Chapter that went before. Oure ſauioure Christ had preacheſt vnto them, and healeſt the fycke folkes of ſuſh diseases and maladiest as they had and therefore the people woulde haue retayned hym ſtill. But he made them aunswere, and fayed.

* And it came to paſſe, that, as the people preſſed upon him to heare the word of God, he stood by the lake of Gennaret,

And ſaw two ſhips ſtanding by the lake: but the fishermeſt were gone out of them, and were waſhing their nets.

And he entered into one of the ſhips, which was Simon's, and prayed him that he would throuſt out a little from the land. And he ſat down, and taught the people out of the ſhip.

Now when he had left ſpeaking, he ſaid unto Simon, Launch out into

the deep, and let down your nettes for a draught.

And Simon anſwering ſaid unto him, Master, we haue toiled all the night, and haue taken nothing: nevetherleſt at thy word I will let down the net.

And when they had this done, they incloſed a great multitudē of fishes: and their net brake.

And they beckoned unto their partners, which were in the other ſhip, that they ſhould come and help them. And they came, and filled both the ſhips, ſo that they began to ſink. —Luke v. 1—.

*Et alii ciuitatibus oportet me euangelisare regnum dei, nam in hoc missus sum.** I must preache the kynge-dome of god to other cyties also, I muste shewe them my fathers wyll: for I came for that purpose. I w's sente to preache the worde of God. Our Sauioure Christ fayed, howe he muste not tarye in one place, for he was sent to the worlde to preache euerye where. Is it not a meruaylous thyng, that oure vnpreeching prelates can read thys place, and yet preach no more then they do. I maruayle, that they can go quyetye to bed, and se how he allureth them with hys example, to be diligente in theyr, office. Here is a godly lesson also howe oure Sauioure Christe fled from glory. Yf these ambiciouse parsons, that climbe to honoure by bywal[k]es inordinatly, would consider this example of Iesus christ, they shold come to more honour then they do: for when thei seke honour by such bywalkes, thei come to confucion honour foloweth them yat fle from it. Our sauour Christ, gat hym a waye erlye in the mornynge, and went vnto the wildernes. I woulde they woulde folowe thys example of Christe, and not seke honoure by suche by walkes as they do. But what dyd the people? when he had hyd hym selfe, they smelled him out in the Wyldernes, and came vnto him, by flockes, and folowed hym a greate nombre. But where reade you that a greate nomber of scribes and Pharises, and Byshoppes followed hym. There is a doctour that wryteth of thys pla[c]e, his name is Doctoure Gorrham, Nycolas Corrham, I knewe hym to be a schoole Doctoure a greate while a go, but I neuer knewe hym to be an enterpreter of scripture til nowe of late: he sayeth thus, *maior deuocio in laicis Veteris quam in clericis, etc.* There is more deuocion sayeth he, in laye folke, and olde Wyues, These symple folke, the vulgar people, then in the clarkes, they be better affecte to the worde of God, then those, that be of the cleargye. I maruayle not

* And he said unto them, I must cities also: for therefore am I sent. -- preach the kingdom of God to other Luke iv. 43.

at the sentence, but I maruayle to fynd such a sentence in such a doctor. Yf I shoulde faye so much, it would be fayed to me, that it is an euyll byrd that defiles hys owne nest, and *Nemo læditur nisi a scipso.* There is no man hurte, but of hys owne selfe. There was veryfied the sayinge of oure Sauioure Christe Whiche he spake in an other place. *Vbicunque fuerit cadauer, ibi congregabuntur aquilæ.** Wherfoeuer a deade carion is, thither wil yee [a]gles gather. Our sauour christ compares hymselfe to a deade carion, for where the carion is, there wyl the Egles be, and though it be an euyl smel to vs. and stynckes in a mans noose yet it is a swete fnell to the Egles, they wyl seke it out. So the people sought oute Chryſt, they smelt hys fauour, he was a swete smell to them. He is *Odor uitæ ad uitam,*† the smel of life to life. Thei flocket about him lyke Egles. Christ was the carion, and the people were the Egles.

Thei had no pleasure to heare the Scribes and the Pharifes thei stancke in their nose, their doctrine was vnsauery, it was but of Lolions, of decimations of Anets feade, and Cummyn and suche gere. There was no comfort in it for foore consciences, there was no consolation for wounded soules, there was no remedye for synnes, as was in Christes doctrine. Hys doctrine eased the burden of the soule, it was swete to the common people, and fower to ye Scribes. It was such conforte and pleasure to them, that thei came flockyng aboue hym. Wherefore came thei? *Vt audirent uerbum dei,*‡ it was a good commyng. They came to heare the word of God. It was not to be thought that they came all of one mynde to here the worde of GOD. It is lykely yat in so grat a multitude, some came of curiositie, to here some nouelles, and from cam smelling a swete fauour, to haue consolation and comfort of Gods word for we cannot be sauad

* For wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.—Matt. xxvii, 58,

† The savour of life unto life—
a Cor. ii. 16.

‡ To hear the word of God.—Luke v. 1: see text at p. 163.

without heringe of the worde. It is a necessarye waye to saluation.

We can not be sauued wythout fayeth, and fayth commeth by hearynge of the worde. *Fides ex auditu.** And howe shal they heare wythout a preacher? I tel you it is the foteſteppes of the ladder of heauen, of oure ſaluacion. There muſt be preachers if we loke to be ſaued. I toulde you of thys gradacion before in the tenth to the Romaynes. Conſider it well. I had rather ye ſhoulde come of a naughtye mynde, to heare the worde of God, for noueltye, or for curioſite to heare ſome paſtime, then to be awaie. I had rather ye ſhoulde come as the tale is by the Gentelwoman of London one of her neyghbours mette her in the ſtreate, and fayed meſtres whether go ye, Mary fayed ſhe, I am goynge to S. Tomas of Acres to the ſermon, I coulde not ſlepe al thys laſte nyght, and I am goynge now thether, I neuer fayled of a good nap there, and ſo I had rather ye ſhould go a napping to the ſermons, than not to go at al. For with what mind ſo euer ye come, thoughe ye come for an ill purpoſe, yet peraduenture ye maye chaunce to be caught or ye go, the preacher maye chaunce to catche you on hys hoke. Rather then ye ſhould not come at al, I would haue you come of curioſtie, as Sayncte Auguſtyn came to heare Sainct Ambroſe. When Sayncte Auguſtyn came to Myllane, (he telles the ſtorye hymſelfe in the ende of his boke of confeſſions) he was very deſirous to here S Ambroſe, not for anye loue he had to the doctrine yat he taughte, but to here his eloquence, whether it was ſo greate, as the ſpeache was, and as the brute went. Wel, before he departed Sayncte ambroſe caught hym on hys hoke and conuerted hym ſo, that he became of a Maniche, and of a platoniste a good christian, a deſender of christes religion, and of the fayeth afterwarde. So I woulde haue you come to ſermones. It is declared in many mo places of scripture, howe neceſſarye preachynge is, as thys. *Euangetlium*

* Faith cometh by hearing — Rom. x. 17,

*¶a potentia dei, ad salutem omni credenti.** The preacheinge of the Gospel, is the power of god to euery man that doth beleue. He meanes gods word opened, It is ye instrument, and the thing wherby we are saued. Beware beware ye diminishe not thys office, for if ye do, ye decaie goddes power to al that do beleue. Christe sayeth consonaunte to the same. *Nisi quis renatus fuerit e supernis, non potest uidere regnum dei.†*

Except a man be borne a gayne from a boue, he can not se the kyngdome of God. He muste haue a regeneration: and what is this regeneration? It is not to be Christened in water (as these fyre brandes expound it) and nothyng elles. Howe is it to be expounded then? saynt Peter sheweth. That one place of Scripture declareth another. It is the circumstaunce, and collacion of places that make scripture playne. *Regeneramur autem †* (sayeth Saynte Peter) and we be borne a gayne. Howe? *Non ex semine mortali, sed immortali.†* Not by a mortall seade, but by an immortall. What is this immortall seade? *per sermonem dei uiuentis.†* By the word of the liuyng God, by the worde of God preached and opened. Thus commeth in oure newe byrth. Here you maye se how necessarye thys offyce is to oure saluacion. This is the thynge that the deuill wrastleth most agaynst, it hath bene all hys studye to decaye thys office, he worketh agaynst it as muche as he can, he hath preuailed to much, to much in it. He hath set vppe a state of vnpreachynge prelacye in this Realme this. vii. c. [seven hundred] yere, A state of vnpreachyng prelacye. He hath made vnpreachynge prelates. He hath styrred vp by heapes to persecute thys office in ye title of heresy he hath stirred vppe the Magistrates to persecute it in the title of sedicion. And he hath stirred vp the people to persecute it wyth exprobacions and flaun-

* The gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.—Rom. i. 16.

† Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.—John vii. 3.

† Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever.—¶ Pet. i. 23.

derous wordes, as by the name of newe learnynge straunge preacheyng and wyth impropriacions he hath turned preachynge in to priuate Masses. If a prieſte shoulde haue left Maffe vndon On a sonday within these ten yeres, all En[g]lande shoulde haue wondered at it, but they might haue left of the sermon. xx. sondayes and neuer haue ben blamed. And thus by these impropriations priuate Masses were fet vp, and preachynge of gods worde troden vnder foote. But what doth he now? what doeth he now? he flerres men vp to outragious rearyng of rentes, that pore men shal not be able to fynd their children at the schole to be diuines. What an vnreasonable deuill is thys? he prouides a grate while before hand for the time that is to come. He hath broughte vp nowe of late the most monſtrouſe kynde of couetouſnes that euer was hearde of. He hath inuented fee fermynge of benefices, and al to decaye thys office of preachynge, in ſo much that when any man heare after ſhall haue a benefice, he maye go where he wyll for any house he ſhall haue to dwell vpon, or any glebe lande to kepe hospitalitie withal, but he muſt take vp a chamber in an Alehouse and there ſit and plaie at ye tables all the day. A goodlye curate. He hath cauſed alſo through this monſtrouſe kinde of couetouſnes, patrons to fel theyr benefices. Yea what doth he more? He gettes him to the vniuerſitie, and cauſeth great men and squiers to ſend theyr fonnes thither, and put out pore ſcholars yat ſhould be diuines: for theyr parentes entend not they ſhall be preachers, but yat they may haue a ſhewe of lerninge. Tut, it were to long to declare vnto you what deſceit and meanes ye diuel hath found to decaie ye office of ſaluation, this office of regeneration. But to return to my matter. The people came to here ye word of god, thei hard him with silence I remember nowe a ſaying of Sayncte Chrifofome, and peraduenture it myght come here after in better place, but yet I wyll take it, whiles it commeth to my mind. The

saying is this. *Et loquenter eum audierunt in silentio, seriem locutionis non interrumpentes.* They harde hym (sayeth he) in silence, not interruptyng the order of his preachinge. He meanes they hard hym quietly, with out any shouelynge of feete, or walkynge vp and downe. Suerly it is an yl myforder, that folke shalbe walkyng vp and downe in the sermon tyme (as I haue fene in this place thys Lente) and there shalbe suche buffynge and buffynge in the preachers eare, that it, maketh hym often tymes to forget hys matter. O let vs consider the Kynges Maiestyes goodnes, Thys place was prepared for banketyng of the bodye, and hys Maiestye hath made it a place for the conforte of the soule, and to haue the worde of God preached in it, shewynge hereby that he would haue all hys subiectes at it, if it myghte be possible. Consider what the Kynges Maiestye hathe done for you, he alloweth you all to heare wyth him. Consider where ye be, fyrst ye oughte to haue a reuerence to Godds word, and thoughe it be preached by pore men, yet it is the same worde that oure Sauioure spake.

Consider also the presence of the Kynges Maiestie Gods highe vycare in earth, hauyng a respect to his personag, ye ought to haue reuerence to it, and consider that he is goddes hyghe minister, and yet alloweth you all to be partakers with him of ye heryng of gods word. This benefit of his would be thankefully taken, and it would be highly esteemed. Hear in silence, as Chrisostom sayeth. It maye chaunce that fume in the compayne may fall sicke, or be diseased, if therebe any suche, let them go away, with silence, let them leaue their salutacions tyll they come in the courte, let them departe with silence. I toke occasion of Chrisostomes wordes to admonyfhe you of thys thynge. What shold be ye cause, that our Sauioure Christe wente into the bote? the scripture calleth it *Nauis or nauicula.* But it was no ship. it was a fishers bote, thei were not able to haue a shyp. What shoulde be the cause, why he

would not stand on the banke and preach ther, but he desired Peter to drawe ye bote some what from ye shore into ye middes of the water. What shold be ye cause? What shold be the cause? One cause was, for that he might sit their more commodiously, then on ye banke, an other cause was, for yat he was like to be thrust into ye pond of ye peple yat came vnto him. Whi? our sauiour Christ might haue with stode them, he was strong inough to haue kept hymselfe from thrusting into the water. He was stronger, then they al, and if, he had lifted he myght haue stode on the water, as wel as he walked on the water, truth it is, so might he haue done in dede. But as it was some tyme hys pleasure to shewe the poore of hys Godheade, so he declared nowe the infirmitie and imbecilitye of hys manheade. Heare he geueth vs an example what we shall do, we must not tempt God by any miracles, so long as we may walke by ordinary wayes. As oure Sauioure Christ when the diuel hadde hym on the top of the temple, and wold haue had hym caste hym selfe doune, he made hym this aunswere. *Non tentabis dominum deum tuum.** 'Thou shalt not tempt thy lord God, as if he shoulde haue sayed. We maye not tempte God at all, it is no tyme nowe to shewe any miracles, ther is an other way to go doune, by gressinges. Thus he dyd to shewe vs an example, that we muste not tempte God, except it be in extreme necessitie, and when we cannot other wayes remedy the matter to leaue it all to God, elles we maye not tempt the maiestye of his deynte. Beware temptyng of God? wel, he commes to Simons bote, and why rather to Simons bote then an other. I wyl aunswere, as I finde in experiance in my selfe. I came hither to day from Lambeth in a whirry and when I came to take my bote, the water men came about me, as the maner is, and he wold haue me, and he wold haue me. I toke one of them. Nowe ye wyll aske me

* Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.—Matt. iv. 7.

why I came in yat bote, rather then in another, because I woulde go into that that I se stande nexte me, it stode more commodiouslye for me. And so dyd Christe by Simons bote. It stode nerer for him, he fawe a better seate in it. A good natural reason. Nowe come the papistes, and they wyll make a misterie of it, they wyll pyke out the supremesy of the Bishop of Rome in Peters bote. We maye make allegories inough of euerye place in scripture, but fuerli, it must nedes be a symple matter that standes on so weke a grounde. But ye shall se further. He desired Peter to thruste out hys bote from the shore. He desired hym. Heare was a good lesson for the Bishop of Rome, and al hys colledge of Cardinalles to learne humilitye and gentelnes. *Rogabat eum.** He desired hym, it was gently done of hym, with out any austertie, but wyth al vrbanitie, myldnes, and softnes and humilitye. What an example is thys, that he giues them heare? but they spie it not, they can se nothynge but the supremycye of the Byshop of Rome. A wonderous thynge what syghte they haue. They se nothynge but the supremicye of the Byshop of Rome. *Imperabatis ouibus meis, sayeth Ezechiel, cum auaricia, et austeritate, et dispersa fuit absque pastore.*†

Ye haue ruled my shepe and commaunded them with greate lordlines, austeri[t]ye, and power, and thus ye haue dispersed my shepe a brode, and why? Ther was no shephard, they had wanted one a great while. Rome hath bene many hundred yeres without a good shepard. They would not lerne to rule them gently, they had rule ouer them, but it was with cursings ex-communicacions, with great austertie, and thunderboltes, and the diuel and al, to mayntaine their vnpreachingyng prelacye. I beseeche God open their eyes, yat they maye se the trueth, and not be blinded with those thinges, that no man can se but they. It foloweth in the texte. *Sedens docebit de navi.*‡ He taught fittyng.

* He prayed him.—Luke v. 3.

scattered, because *there is no sheep-herd.*—Ezek. xxxiv. 4, 5.

† With force and with cruelty have ye ruled them, And they were

‡ [He] taught the people out of the ship.—Luke v. 1.

Preachers be lyke, were fitters in thos daies, as it is written in a nother place. *Sedent in cathedra moisu.** They sette in the chayer of Moses.

I woulde oure preachers woulde preache fittyng, or standynge, one waye, or other. It was a godly pulpit that our Sauiour Christ hadde gotten hym here. An olde rotten bote. And yet he preached hys fathers wyll, hys fathers message out of thys pulpyt. He regarded the people more then ye pulpit. He cared not for the pulpit, so he myght do the people good. In dede it is to be commended for the preacher to stand, or sit, as the place is, but I would not haue it so superstitiously esteemed, but that a good preacher may declare ye word of god sitting on a horse, or preaching in a tre. And yet if this shold be done, ye vnpreaching prelates would laughe it to skorne.

And though it be good to haue the pulpit set vp in churches, that the people may resort thither, yet I woulde not haue it so superstitiously vsed, but that in a prophane place the worde of God might be preached some times, and I woulde not haue the people offended wyth all, no more, then they be with our Sauioure Christes preaching out of a bote.

And yet to haue pulpetes in churches it is very well done to haue them, but they woulde be occupied, for it is a vayne thyng to haue them as they stand in many churches. I harde of a Byshop of Englande that wente on visitacion and (as it was the custom) when the Byshop shoulde come and be runge into the toune, the greate belles clapper was fallen doun, the tyall was broken, so that the Byshop coulde not be runge into the toune. Ther was a greate matter made of thys, and the chiefe of the paryshe were muche blamed for it in the visitacion. The Byshop was some what quicke wyth theym, and signified that he was muche offended. They made theyr aunsweres, and excused them selues, as wel as they coulde, it was a chaunce, sayd they, that ye clapper brake and we coulde not get it amended

* The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat.—Matt. xxiii. 2.

by and by, we must tarrye til we can haue done it. It shal be amended as shortelye as maye be. Amonge the other there was one wyfer then the rest, and he commes me to the Bishop. Whi mi Lord, sayth he, doth your lordship mak so grat matter of the bell, that lacketh hys clapper? here is a bell, sayeth he, and poynted to the pulpit, that hath lacked a clapper thys. xx. yeres. We haue a parson, that setteth out of thys benefice fiftye poundes euerye yere, but we neuer se hym. I warrant you ye Byshop was an vnpreachyng prelate. He could fynde faute wyth the bel, that wanted a clapper, to ryng hym into the toune, but he could not fynd any faut wyth the parson that preached not at his benefice. Euer thys office of preachynge hath bene least regarded, it hath skante hadde the name of goddes seruyce. They must syng. *Salve festa dies* aboue the churche, that no man was the better for it, but to shewe theyr gaie cotes, and garmentes. I came once my selfe to a place, ridyng on a iornay home warde from London, and I fente worde ouer nyghte into the toune that I would preach there in ye morninge because it was holy day, and me thought it was an holye dayes worcke. The church stode in my waye, and I toke my horſſe, and my compayne, and went thither, I thoughte I shoulde haue founde a greate compayne in the churche, and when I came there, the churche dore was faſte locked.

I tarried there halfe an houer and more, at last the keye was founde, and one of the parishe commes to me and sayes. Syr thys is a busye daye wyth vs, we can not heare you, it is Robyn hoodes daye. The parishe are gone a brode to gather for Robyn hoode, I praye you let them not. I was fayne there to geue place to Robyn hoode, I thought my rochet shoulde haue bene regarded, thoughe I were not, but it woulde not serue, it was fayntogeu place to Robyn hoodesmen.

It is no laughynge matter my friendes, it is a wepyng matter, a heauy matter, a heauy matter, vnder the pretence for gatherynge for Robyn hoode, a tray-

toure, and a thefe, to put out a preacher, to haue hys office leffe estemed, to prefer Robyn hod before the ministracion of Gods word, and al thys hath come of vnpreachynge prelates. Thys Realme hath ben il prouided for, that it hath had suche corrupte iudgements in it, to prefer Robyn hode to goddes worde. Yf the Byshoppes had bene preachers, there shoulde neuer haue bene any suche thynge, but we haue a good hope of better. We haue had a good begynnyng, I befech God to continewe it. But I tell you, it is farre wide, that the people haue suche iudgements, the Byshoppes they coulde laughe at it. What was that to them? they woulde haue them continewe in their ignoraunce styll, and them selues in vnpreachyng prelacye. Wel, syttinge, syttinge. He satte doune and taughte. The texte doeth tell vs that he taughte, but it doeth not tell vs what he taughte. If I were a papist I coulde tell what he sayed. I woulde in the Popes iudgements shewe what he taught. For the Byshop of Rome hath in *scrinio pectoris sui*, the true vnderstandynge of Scriptures. Yf he cal a counsayle of colledge of Cardinalles, he hath authoritye to determyne the supper of the Lorde, as he dyd at the counsayle of Florence.

And Pope Nicolas, and Byshoppe Langfrancke shal come and expounde thys place, and saye, that oure Sauioure Christe, sayed thus. Peter I do meane thys by syttinge in thy bote that thou shalte goo to Rome, and be Byshoppe there ffe and twentie yeares, after myne ascension. And all thy successours shal be rulers of ye vniuersal church after ye.

Heare woulde I place also holye water, and holye breade, and all vnwrytten verytes, if I were a Papiste, and that Scripture is not to be expoundyd by anye priuate interpretacion, but by oure holye father, and hys colledge of Cardinalles.

Thys is a greate dele a better place then. *duc in altum.** But what was Christes sermon? it maye fone be gathered what it was. He is always like him selfe.

* Launch out into the deep.—Luke v. 4.

Hys fyrste Sermon was. *pénitentiam agite*, do penaunce, your lyuynge is naught, repente. Agayne at Nazareth, whan he redde in the temple and preached remission of synnes, and healyng of woundyd consciences, and in the longe sermon in the mount, he was alwayes lyke hymselfe, he neuer dissented from hymselfe. O there is a writer hath a ioile text here, and hys name is, Dionisious. I chaunced to mete wyth hys boke in my Lorde of Caunterberyes librarye: he was a Monke of the charterhousse. I maruayle to find such a sentence in that author. What taught Christ in thys sermon? Mary fayeth he, it is not written. And he addeth more vnto it. *Euangelistæ tantum scripserunt de sermonibus et miraculis christi quantum cognoverunt inspirante deo sufficere ad edificationem ecclesiae ad confirmationem fidei, et ad salutem animarum.* It is true it is not wrytten. Al hys miracles were not written, so neyther were al hys sermons wrytten, yet for all that the euangelistes dyd wryte so muche as was necessary. They wrote so muche of the miracles and sermons of Christ as they knewe by godes inspiracion to be sufficient for the edifiyng of the churche, the confirmation of oure fayeth and the health of our soules. If thys be true as it is in dede, where be written verities? I meruayle not at the sentence but to fynde it in suche an authour. Iefuswhat authoriti he gyues to goddesworde. But GOD woulde that suche men shoulde be wytnesse wyth the authoritye of his boke, wil thei nill they.

Nowe to drawe towardses an ende. It foloweth in the text *duc in altum*. Here comes in the supremitye of the Byshoppe of Rome. Whan oure Sauioure Christ had made an ende of hys sermon and had fed their feules, he prouided for theyr boddies. Fyrst he began wyth the soule. Christes worde is the fode of it. Nowe he goth to the body, he hath charge of them boeth, he gyueth fode for them boeth: we must commit the fedyng of the body and of the soule to hym.

Well, he fayeth to Peter. *duc in altum.* Launcle

in to the depth, put forth thy bote farther into the deepe of the water. Lose youre nettes, nowe fyfhe. As who shoulde faye, youre soules are nowe fedde, I haue taught you my doctrine, nowe I wyll confirme it wyth a miracle. Lo syr here is *duc in altum*, Here Peter was made a greate man faye the Papistes, and all hys successours after hym. And thys is deriued of these fewe words. Launch into the deepe. And their argumente is thys: he spake to Peter onelye, and he spake to hym in the singular number, ergo he gaue him such a preeminence aboue the rest. A goodly argument, I wene it be a fillogismus. *in quem terra pontus*. I will make a lyke argument, Oure Sauioure Christe fayed to Iudas, whan he was about to betraye hym *quod facis fac citius*.* Nowe whan he spake to Peter ther were none of his disciples by, but Iames and Iohn, but whan he spake to Iudas they were al present. Wel, he sayd vnto him, *quod facis fac citius*. Spede thy busines, yat thou hast in thy heade, do it. He gaue him here a secret monicion that he knewe what he intended, if Iudas had had grace to haue taken it and repented. He spake in the singular number to him, ergo he gaue hym some preeminence. By like he made him a Cardinall, and it mighte ful wel be, for they haue folowed Iudas euer synts. Here is as good a grounde for the Coledige of Cardinalles, as the other is for the supremetie of the Bishop of Rome. Oure Sauiour Christ (say they) spake onely to Peter for preeminence, because he was chiefe of the Apostles, and you can shewe none other cause Ergo thys is the cause why he spake to hym in the syngular number. I dare faye there is neuer a whirriman at Westminster brydge, but he can answere to thys, and gyue a naturall reason for it.

He knoweth that one man is able to shoue the bote, but one man was not able to caste out the nettes, and therefore he fayed in the plural nomber. *laxate retia*:† Louise youre nettes? and he fayed in the syngular

* That thou doest, do quickly.—John xiii. 27.

† Let down your nets.—Luke v. 4.

number to Peter, launch out the bote. why? because he was able to do it.

But he spake the other in the plural nomber, because he was not able to conuaye the bote, and cast out the nettes to. One man coulde not do it. Thys woulde the whirry man faye, and that wyth better reason, then to make such a misterie of it, as no man can spye but they. And the cause why he spake to all, was to shewe that he wyll haue all Christen men to worcke for theyr lyuynge. It is he that sendes foode both for the body, and soule, but he wyll not send it, wythout laboure, He wyll haue all Christen people to laboure for it, he wyll vse oure laboure as a meane whereby he sendeth oure foode. Thys was a wondrous myracle of our Sauioure Christe, and dyd it not onely to allure them to hys discipleshippe, but also for our commodite. It was a feale, a feale to feale hys doctrine wythall. Nowe ye knowe that fuche as be kepars of feales, as my Lorde Chauncelour, and fuche other, what so euer they be, they do not all wayes feale, they haue a sealyng tyme. (For I haue harde poore men complaine, that thei haue bene put of from tyme to tyme of sealyng to another, tyll all theyr money were spent). And as they haue tymes to feale in, so oure Sauioure Christ had hys tyme of sealyng. When he was here in earth, wyth his Apostles, and in the tyme of the primitiue churche, Christes doctrine was sufficiencelye fealed already wyth seales of hys owne makynge, what shoulde oure feales do? What nede we to feale his feale? it is a confirmed doctrine alredi. O Luther, when he came into that worlde fyrst, and disputed agaynst the decretales, the Clementines, Alexandrines, Estrauagantines, what a do had he. But ye wyll faye peraduenture he was deceyued in some thynges I wil not take vpon me to defend him in al pointes, I wil not stand to it, yat al that he wrot was true, I thinke he woulde not so hym selfe. For thiere is no man, but he maye erre. He came to further and further knowledge, (but suerly he was a goodli instrument). Wel I say, when he

preached fyfste they called vpon him to do myracles, thei were wrought before. And so we nede to do no miracl[e]s. In dede when the popish prelates preached fyfth, thei had nede of miracles, and the deuil wroughte some in the preachynge of purgatorye. But what kynde of miracles these were, all Englande doeth knowe, but it wil not knowe. A wunderfull thinge, that the people wyl contynewe in theyr blyndnes and ignoraunce stil. We haue greate vtilitie of the miracles of oure sauiour Iesus Christe. He doth signifye vnto vs, by this wonderful worcke, yat he is Lord as wel of ye water as of the land. A good comfort for thoſe yat be on ye water, when thei be in ani tempeſt, or daunger to call vpon him. The fishe here came at his commaundement. Here we maye learne that all thynges in the water are subiecte to Christe. Peter fayed. Syr, wee haue laboured all nighte, and haue not caught one fynne, howe be it at youre word we wyll to it a freshe. By this it appereth that ye gaine, the lucre, the reuenewes that we get, must not be imputed to oure labour, we maye not say, gramercy labour: it is not oure labour, it is our sauiour Christ that sendeth vs liuynge, yet muste we laboure, for he that fayed to Peter labour, and he that bad the fyfthers laboure, biddes all menne to laboure in theyr busines. There be ſome people that ascribe their gaynes, theyr encrease, gotten by anye faculte, to the deuil. Is ther any trowe ye in England would fay fo? Nowe if any man ſhoulde come to an other, and ſay he gat hys liuynge by the dyuell, he would fall out wyth hym. There is not a man in Englande that ſo fayeth, yet is there ſome that thyncke it. For al yat get it with false biyng and ſellyng, wyth circumuention, wyth vſury, impostures, mixte wares, falſe waigthes, deceuyng theyr Lordes and maifters, all thoſe, that get theyr goodes on thys fashion, what do they thyncke, but that the deuil fendes them gaynes and ryches. For they be hys (beyng vnlawefullly gotten) What is thys to ſay, but that the dyuell is auþhour of theyr gaynes when they be ſo gotten? For God

inhabites them. *deus non uolens iniquitatem tu es.** God wylno iniquitie. These folke are greatly deceiued. Ther be some againe impute al to their laboures and workes.

Yea, on the hollye day, they can not fynde in their hertes to come to the Temple, to the blessed communion, they must be working at home. These are wid againe on the other side. And some there be yat thinke, if they worke nothinge at al, they shal haue inough, they wil haue no good exercise, but gape and thinke that god wil send meat into their mouthes, and these are as far wide: they muste worke, he bad the fishers worcke. Our Sauiour Christ bad Peter worke, and he that fayed so to them, fayes the same to vs, euerye man in his arte. *benedictio dei facit diuitem.*†

The bleffynge of God maketh a man ryche. He lettes hys sonne shyne vpon the wycked, aswell as vpon the good, he sendes ryches boeth to good and bad.

But thys bleffynge turnes to them into a malediction and a curse, it encreseth their damnacion. Saynte Paule wrytyng to the Theffalonians, dyd put an order howe euerye man shoulde worcke in hys vocation. *Cum effrenus apud uos, hoc praciebamus uobis, ut si quis nollei operari, is nec edat.*‡

When I was amonge you (sayeth he) I made thys ordinaunce, that whosoeuer wold not do the worcke of hys vocation, shoulde haue no meate. It were a good ordinaunce in a common weale, that euerye man sholde be set on worke, every man in hys vocation. Lette hym haue no mete. Nowe he sayeth furthermore. *Audiuimus quosdam inter uos uerfantes inordinate, nihil operis facientes.*§ I here saye, there is some amongest you, that lyues inordinatelye. What is that word inordinatelye? ydelye, gyuynge them selues to no occupacion for theyr lyuynge. *Curiose agentes.*§ Curiose men, gyuen to curiosite, to searchynge what other men do. Saynt Paule sayeth, he harde saye, he

* And canst not look on iniquity. —Hab. i. 13. would not work, neither should he eat.—¶ Thess. iii. 10.

† The blessing of the Lord, it maketh rich.—Prov. x. 22.

‡ For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any

which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busy-bodies.—¶ Thess. iii. 12.

could not tell whether it were so or no. But he toke occasion of hearynge faye, to sette out a good and holsome doctrine. *his autem qui sunt eiusmodi præcipimus, et obsecramus.**

We commaund and desier you for the reuerence of God, if ther be any suche, that they wyll do the worckes of their vocacion, and go quietly to their occupation, and so eate theyr owne bread, ells it is not theyr owne, it is other mens meate. Oure Sauiour Christ before he began hys preachynge, lyued of hys occupacion, he was a carpenter, and gat hys liuynge wyth greate laboure.

Therefore let no manne disdayne, or thincke skorne to folowe hym in a meane liuynge, a meane vocation, or a common callynge and occupacion. For as he blessed oure nature wyth takynge vpon hym the shape of man, so in hys doyng he blessed al occupacions and artes. This is a notable example to signify yat he abhorres al idlenes. When he was a Carpenter, then he went, and dyd the worke of hys callynge, and when he was a preacher he dyd the workes of that calling. He was no vnpreachyng prelate. The Byshoppe of Rome shoulde haue learned that at him. And these gayners with false artes what be they? They are neuer contente wyth that they haue, though it be neuer so muche. And they yat are true dealers, are satisfied with that god sendes, though it be neuer so litle *quaestus magnus pietas, cum animo sua forte contento.*† Godlines is great gayne.

It is lucre inougue, it is vantage inougue to be content with that, that God sendes. The fayethfull can not lacke, the vnfaythfull is euer lackynge, though he haue neuer so much I wil nowe make an ende. *labores manuum tuarum.*‡ Let vs al labour. Christe teacheth vs to labour, yea the Byshop of Rome hym selfe, he teacheth him to labour rather then to be

* Now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread.—*2 Thess. viii. 12.*

† Godliness with contentment is great gain.—*1 Tim. vi. 6.*
‡ For thou shalt eat the labour of thine hands: happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee.—*Ps. cxviii. 2.*

hedde of the church. Let vs put our trust in God. *Labores manuum tuarum.* Caste thy care vpon the Lord and he wyll norishe the and fede the. Agayne the Prophet sayeth. *Numquam uidi iustum derelictum nec semen eius querens panem.**

I neuer sawe the ryghtouise man forsaken, nor hys feede to seke his bread. It is infidelytye, infidelitye, that marres all together.

Well to my texte. *labores manuum tuarum quia manducabis, beatus es et bene tibi erit etc.* Because thou eatest the labors of thy handes, that, yat God fendes the of thy laboure. Euery man must labour, yea though he be a Kynge yet he muste labour, for I knowe no man hath a greater laboure then a Kynge. What is his labour? To studye goddes boke, to see yat there be no vnpreachynge prelates in his realme, nor bribing Judges, to se to all estates, to prouyde for the poore, to see vittailes good chepe. Is not this a labour trowe ye? thus if thou duste labour, exercisynge the worckes of thy vocatyon, thou eatest the meate that god fendes the, and then it followeth. *Beatus es.* Thou art a blessed manne in Goddes fauour. *Et bene tibi erit.* And it shall go well wyth the in this world, both in bodye and soule, for God prouides for both. Howe shalte thou prouyde for thy soule? go here Sermons. Howe for the boddye? labour in thy vocation, and then shall it be well wyth the, bothe here and in the worlde to come

through the fayth and merites
of our fauour Iesus Chryst,
To whom with the fathrer
and the holy goſt, be
prayeſe for euer and
euer, world with
oute ende.

Amen.

The ende of the. vi.
Sermon.

* I have been young, and now am forsaken, nor his seede beggynge bread,
old, yet have I not seen the righteous —Psa. xxxvii. 25.

The seuenth

Sermon of Maister Hughe

Latimer, whiche he preached before
the Kinges Maestye wythin
hys Graces Palacie at
Westminster the
xix. daye of
Aprill.



*Vaeunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.** Al thynges yat be written, thei be written to be our doctrine. By occasion of thys texte (most honorable audience) I haue walked thys Lente in the brode filde of scripture and vfed my libertie, and intreated of such matters

as I thought, mete for this auditory. I haue had a do wyth many estates, euen with the highest of all, I haue entreated of the dutye of Kynges, of the dutye of maiestrates, and Iudges, of the dutye of prelates, allowyng that yat is good, and disallowyng the contrary. I haue taught that we ar all synnery, I thinke there is none of vs al, neither precher, nor hearer but we maye be amended, and redresse oure lyues. We maye all faye, yea all the packe of vs, *peccauimus cum patribus nostris.*† We haue offended and synned with our forefathers. *In multis offendimus omnes.*‡ There is none of vs al, but we haue in sondry thinges greuously offended almyghtie God. I here intreated of many fautes and rebuked manye kyndes of synnes. I intende to daye by Goddes grace, to shew you the remedy of synne. We be in the place of repentaunce, nowe is the tyme to cal for mercy, whyles we be in

* Rom. xv. 4.

† We have

‡ In many things we offend all.—
sinned with our fathers.—Psa. cxi. 6. Jam. iii. 2.

this worlde. We be all synners, euen the best of vs all. Therefore it is good to here the remedy of synne. This day is commonlye called good Fryday, although eueri day ought to be with vs good fryday, Yet this day we ar accustomed specially to haue a commemo-
ration and remembraunce of the passion of our sauour Iesu Christ. This daye we haue in memory hys by-
ter Passion and death, which is the remedy of our syn. Therefore I intende to intreat of a pece of the story of hys passion. I am notable to intreate of all. That I may do that the better, and that it maye bee to the honour of God and edification of youre soules and myne both, I shal desyre you to praye etc. In thys prayer, I wyll desyre you to remember the soules departed, wyth laudes and prayse to almyghtie God, that he woulde vouchsafe to affyste them at the hour of their death. In so dooyng, you shalbe put in remembraunce to praye for your selues, that it may please G O D to affyste and conforte you in the agonies and paines of death.

The place that I wyll intreat of is in the. xxvi. Chapiter, of saynte Matthewe, Howebeit, as I intreate of it I wyll borrowe parte of Saynte Marke and saynt Luke, for they haue somwhat, that saynt Mathew hath not, and especially Luke.* The texte is. *Quoniam uenisset Iesus in uillam quæ dicitur gethsemani.*† Then when Iesus came, some haue in *uillam* some *in agris*, some *in predium*. But it is all one, when Christ came into a Graunge, into a peace of land, into a field, it makes no matter, cal it what ye wyl, at what tyme he had come into an honest mans house, and ther eaten hys pascquall lambe, and instituted and celebrate the lordes supper, and sette furth the blessed communion, then when this was done, he toke his way to the place, where he knewe Iudas would come. It was a solitarye place and thither he wente with hys leauen Apostles. For Iudas the twelfe was a boute his busines, he was occupied

* Matt. xxvi. 36-44; Mark xlv. 30-35; Luke xxi. 39-44; John xxi. 2.

+ Then cometh Jesus with them unto a place called Gethsemani.—Matt. xxvi. 36.

The seuenth sermon

aboute his marchandise, and was prouydynge among the byshoppes and prestes, to come with an imbushe-
ment of Lewes to take our fauour Iesus Christ.

And when he was come into this felde, or grandge, this village, or ferme place, which was called Geth-
semani, there was a Garden sayth Luke, into the whych he goeth, and leues. viii. of hys disciples with-
out, howbeit he appoynted them what they shold do. He sayth *Sedete hic, donec uadam illuc, et orem.** Sit you-here whiles I go yonder and prai. He told them that he went to pray, to monish them what they should do, to fall to praier as he dyd. He lefte them there, and toke no more with him but. iii. Peter, Iames, and Ihon to teach vs that a solitari place is mete for prayer. Then when he was come into this garden, *Cœpier expauescere.*† He began to trimble, in so much he fayed *Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem.*‡ My soule is heauye and pencyue, euen vnto death. Thys is a notable place, and one of the most especiall and chefeste of all that be in the storie of the passion of Christe. Here is oure remedye. Here we must haue in consideracion, all hys doynges and fayeinges for oure learnynge, for oure edification, for oure comforthe, and consolacion.

Firste of all he set hys thre Disciples that he toke wyth hym in an order, and toulde theym what they shoulde do, sayinge. *Sedete hic et uigilate mecum et orate.*‡

Sytte here, and praye that ye enter not into temp-
tacion, but of that I wyll entreate afterwarde. Nowe
when he was in the Garden, *cœpit expauescere.*† He
beganne to be heauye, pencyue, heauye harted. I lyke
not Oregens playeinge wyth this word *cœpit*, it was a per-
fect heauynes, it was suche a one as was neuer sene the
grater, it was not onely the begynning of a sorow.
These doctours, we haue greate cause to thanke God
for them, but yet I would not haue them alwayes to

* Sit here, while I go and pray
yonder.—Matt. xxvi. 36.

† Began to be sorrowful and very
heavy.—Matt. xxvi. 37.

‡ My soul is exceeding sorrowful,
even unto death: tarry ye here, and
watch with me.—Matt. xxvi. 38.

English Reprints

MASTER HUGH LATIMER

Ex-Bishop of Worcester

Seven Sermons before Edward VI.

On each Friday in Lent, 1549

EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER

F.S.A. ETC. LATE EXAMINER IN ENGLISH
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
TO THE UNIVERSITY OF



WESTMINSTER
A. CONSTABLE AND CO.

1895

soule is heauy to death. And *cum capissa expauescere* and when he began to quiever, to shake. The greuousnes of it is declared by hys prayer yat he made. *pater si possibile est etc.** Father if it be possible, a way with this cup, rid me of it. He vnderstod by this cup his paines of death. For he knewe well inoughe that hys passion was at hand, that Iudas was come vpon hym with the Iewes to take him. There was offered vnto hym nowe the Image of death, the Image, the fence, the felynge of hell, for death and hell go both together. I wyll entreat of thys Image of hell, whyche is death. Truelye no manne can shewe it perfectlye, yet I wyl do the best I can to make you vnderstand ye greouise panges that oure Sauioure Christe was in when he was in the garden, as mans power is not able to beare it, so no mans tong is able to expresse it. Paynters painte death lyke a man without skin, and a body hauyng nothing but bones. And hel they paint it, horible flames of brenning fier, they bungell some what at it, thei come no thing nere it. But thys is no true payntyng. No paynter can paynte hel vnlesse he coulde paynte the torment and condemnation both of body and soule, ye possession and hauyng of all in felicitie. Thys is hel, this is ye Image of death this is hell, such an euyl fauoured face, such an vgsome countenaunce, such an horrible vysage our sauiour Christ fawe of death and hell in the gardayn. There is no pleasure in beholdynge of it, but more Payne then anye toung can tell. Death and hell toke vnto them thys euyl fauoured face of fine, and thorough synne. This synne is so hyghly hated of God, that he doth pronounce it worthy to be punished wyth lacke of all felicitie, with the fealyng of infelicitie. Death and hell be not only the wages, the reward, ye stipend of sin, but they are brought into ye world by sinne, *per peccatum mors†* sayth S Paule, throughe synne deaþe

* O my Father, if it be possible, xxvi. 39.
let this cup pass from me.—Matt.

+ Death by sin.—Rom. v. 14.

entered into the world. Moses sheweth the first comming in of it into the world. Where as our fyrist father Adam was set at libertie to lyue for euer, yet God inhibytyng hym from eatyng of the Aple, tould hym, If thou meddle with this fruite, thou and all thy posteritie shall fal into necessitie of death from euer lyuynge, *morte morieris*, thou and all thy posteritie shalbe subiect to deathe, here came in death and hell. Synne was their mother. Therefore they must haue suche an Image as their mother sinne would geue them. An vgsome thing and an horrible Image must it nedes be that is brought in by such a thyng so hated of God, yea this face of death and hell is so terrible, that suche as hath bene wycked men had rather be hanged than a byde it. As Achitophell that traytoure to Dauid lyke an ambyciouse wretche thought to haue come to higher promocion, and therefore conspired with Absolom against hys maister Dauid. He when he sawe hys counsayle toke no place, goes and hanges hym selfe, in contemplacion of thys euyl fauored face of death. Iudas also when he came wyth bushementes to take his maister Christe in beholding thys horrible face hanged himselfe.

Yea the electe people of God, the faythful hauinge the beholdinge of thys face, (though God hath alwayes preserued them, suche a good God he is to them that beleue in hym, that he wyll not suffer them to be tempted aboue that, that they haue bene able to beare) yet for all that, there is nothynge that they complaine more sore then of thys horrore of death. Go to Iob. What sayeth he? *Pereat dies in quo natus sum, suspendium elegit anima mea.** Wo worth ye day that I was borne in, my soule wolde be hanged, saying in his panges almooste he wyte not what. Thys was when wyth the eye of hys conscience, and the inwarde man he behelde the horrore of death and hel, not for any bodylye Payne that he suffered

* Let the day perish wherein I was born.—Job iii. 5.

Job cursed ye
day of hys
death when he
did inwardly
behold ye hor-
ror of death.

for when he hadde byles, botches, blaynes, and scabbes, he suffered them pacientlye, he coulde faye then : *Si bona suscepisti de manu Domini. etc.**

If we haue receyued good thynges of God, why
 Why Iob shoulde we not suffer likewyse euyll ? It
 was vexed was not for any suche thyng, that he was
 so vexed, but the fyghe of thys face of death and hel,
 was offered to hym so lyuely that he wolde haue bene
 oute of thys worlde. It was thys euyl fauored face of
 death that so troubled hym. Kynge Dauid also fayed,
 in contemplacion of thys vgrome face. *Laboravi in
 gemitu meo.*† I haue bene sore vexed with sighyng and
 mourning. *Turbatus est a furore oculus meus.*‡

Myne eye hath bene greatlye troubled in my rage.

David fea-
 red not Go-
 lath the mon-
 strous gyant
 but he feareth
 death.

Ionas feared
 not ye sea but
 he feared de-
 ath.

Ezechias fea-
 red not the
 mighty Army
 of Senache-
 ri but he fear-
 red death.

iiiij. of the kyn-
 ges the. xx.

A straung thyng, when he had to fyghe
 wyth Goliath that monstrous giante, who
 was able to haue eaten hym, he coulde a
 byde hym, and was nothyng a frayed and
 now what a worcke ? what exclamacions
 makes he at the fyghe of death ? Ionas
 lykewyse was bold inoughe, to byd the
 shypmen cast hym into the sea, he had not yet sene
 that face and vyfage, but when he was in the Whales
 belly, and had there the beholdynge of it, what terror
 and distresse abode he ? Ezechias when
 he sawe Senacherib besiegyng hys citye
 oneueryesydemost violentlye, was nothyng
 a frayde of the greate hoste and myghtye
 army that was lyke to destroye hym oute of
 hande, yet he was a frayed of deathe.

When the Prophet came vnto hym, and
 fayed. *Dispone domini tue, morte morieris, et non vivies.*§

It stroke him so to the harte that he fel a wepyng.
 O Lord what an horror was this ? Ther be some
 writers that saies that Peter, Iames and Ihon, were in

* Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil ?—Job ii. 19.

† I am weary with my groaning.—Psa. vi. 6.

‡ Mine eye is consumed because of grief.—Psa. vi. 7.

§ Set thine house in order; for thou shalt die, and not live.—a King. xx. 1.

thys felynge at the same tyme and that Peter when he sayed: *Exi a me domine quia homo peccator sum.**

Did taſt ſome part of it he was ſo аſtoneyfhed, he wifl not what to ſaye. It was not longe that they were in thys anguſhe, ſome ſayes longer, ſome ſhorter but Christ was readye to comforte them, and ſayed to Peter.

Ne timeas,† Be not afraied. A frend of myne tolde me of a certayne woman, that was. xviii. yeares together in it. I knewe a man my ſelf Bilney, little Bilnei, that bleſſed martyr of GOD, what tyme he had borne hys fagott, and was come agayne to Cambrydge hadde ſuche conſlyctes, wythin hym ſelfe, beholdynge thys Image of death, that hys frendes were a frayed to lette hym be alone, they were fayne to be wyth hym daye and nyght, and comforted hym, as they coulde, but no comfortes woulde ſerue. As for the comfortable places of ſcripture to bryng them vnto hym, it was as though a man woulde runne hym through the herte wyth a ſwearde. Yet afterwarde for all thys he was reuiued, and toke his death pacientlye, and dyed wel againſte the Tirannical ſea of Rome. Wo, wil be to that byſhoppe that had the examynacyon of hym, if he repented not. Here is a good leſſon for you my fryendes. If euer ye come in daunger, in duraunce, in pryon for godes quarrell, and hys fake, (as he dyd for purgatorye matters, and put to beare a fagot for preachynge the true worde of God agaynſte pilgrimage and ſuche lyke matters) I wyl aduyſe you fyrt and aboue al thing to abiure al your fryendes, all your frindelihipe, leaue not one vnaſiured, it is they that ſhall vndo you, and not your ennemyes. It was his very friendes, that brought Bylnye to it. By this it maye ſomewhaſt appere what oure fauour Christe ſuffered, he doeth not diſſemblie it hym ſelfe, when he

Lytle Bilney
the bleſſed
martyr of god
had wonder-
full conſlyctes
in his mindes.

Bylnye took
hys death pa-
ciently.

A god leſſon
for ſuches as
are in pryon
for ye wordes
ake.

* Depart from me: for I am a ſin- + Fear not.—Luke v. 19.
ful man, O Lord,—Luke v. 8.

sayth, my soule is heauye to death, he was in so fore
 Chryst was an Agony, that there issued out of hym
 in Agonye. as I shal entreate anone, droppes of bloud,
 an vgsome thing fuerly, whiche his fact and dede sheweth
 vs, what horrible paynes he was in for oure fakes.

But you wyll saye, howe can thys be? It were
 An answer to possible that I and fuche other, as be
 an obiectyon greate synners shoulde suffer fuche afflic-
 concerning Chrystes af- tion. The sonne of God, what ours
 fliction and tor- mentyng. Sauioure Christe? neuer synned, howe
 can thys stande that he shoulde be thys handeled?
 he neuer deserued it. Mary I wyl tell how we must
 consider oure Sauiour Christe two wayes, one way in
 hys manhode, another in his Godhed. Some places
 of scripture must be referred to hys deitie, and some
 Christ suffered to his humanitie. In hys godhed he
 nothing in suffered nothynge, but nowe he made
 hys godhed hym selfe voide of hys deity, as scripture
 sayth. *Cum esset in forma dei exinaniuit seipsum.**

Where as he was in the forme of God, he emptyed
 hym selfe of it, he dyd hyde it, and vised him selfe as
 though he had not had it, he woulde not helpe hym
 selfe wyth hys godhede, he humbled him selfe with al
 obedience vnto death, euen to the death of the crosse thys

How Chryst was in
 toke vpon him
 our synnes. was in yat he was man, he toke vpon hym
 our synnes, our synnes, not the worcke of
 our synnes. I meane not so, not to do it, not
 to commyt it, but to purge it, to cleanse it, to beare the
 Whych way stypende of it, and that waye he was the
 Chryst was ye greate synner
 of the whole world. great synner of the worlde, he bare all the
 synne of the worlde on hys backe, he
 woulde become detter for it.

Nowe to sustayne and suffer the doloures of death, is
 not to synne, but he came into thys worlde, wyth hys
 Chrystes suf- passyon to purge our synnes. Nowe thys
 feryng in the that he suffered in the Gardaine is on[e], of
 garden was the bittrest peices of al hys passyon, thys
 one of the byt-

* Who, being in the form of God obedient unto death, even the death he humbled himself, and became o' the cross.—Phil. ii. 8.

feare of death was the byttereste Payne
 that euer he abode, dewe to syn which he
 neuer did, but became detter for vs. Al this he
 suffer for vs, thys he dyd to satisfeye for our synnes. It is
 much like as if I oughte another man. xx.M. terest peces of
al his passion
 [thousand] poundes, and shulde paye it out
 of hande, or elles go to the dungen of
 Iudgate, and when I am goynge to pryson, one of my
 friendes should come, and aske, whether goeth thys
 man? And after he had harde the matter, shulde
 saye, let me aunswere for hym, I wylbe come fuertye
 for hym. Yea, I wyl paye all for hym. Suche a parte
 played our sauour Christe wyth vs. If he had not
 suffered thys, I for my part shoulde haue suffered,
 accordyng to the grauitie and qualitie of my synnes,
 damnacion. For the greater the synne is, The greater
the synne is,
the greater is
the Payne.
 He suffered for you and me in suche a
 degre, as is dewe to al ye sinnes of the
 whole world. It was as if you woulde immagin that
 one man had commytted al the synnes since Adam,
 you maye be sure he shoulde be punished wyth the
 same horrour of death in suche a forte as al men in
 the worlde shoulde haue suffered. Feyne and put
 case our sauour Christe, had committed al the sinnes
 of the world, al that I for my parte haue done, al that
 you for youre parte haue done, and that anye manne
 elles hath done, if he hade done all thys him self, his
 agony that he suffered shoulde haue bene no greater
 nor greouer, then it was. This that he His suffering
in the garden
was bytter and
payfull
 suffered in the garden was a portion I say
 of hys passion and one of the bitterest
 partes of it. And this he suffered for oure synnes and
 not for anye synnes that he had commytted hym selfe
 for al we should haue suffered euery man accordyng
 to his owne desertes.

This he dydde of his goodnes, partelye
 to purge and cleanse our synnes, partelye,
 because he would fast, and fele our myse- Why Christ
suffered such
paynes in the
garden.

ries, *Quo posset succurrere nobis.** that he should the rather helpe and relieue vs, and partly he suffered to geue vs example, to behaue our felues as he dyd. He dyd not suffer, to discharge vs cleane from death, to

All men shall kepe vs cleane, from it, not to tast of it. behold the vg- some face of death. Nay nay, you muste not take it so. We shall haue the beholding of this vgsome

face euery one of vs, we shal fele it our felues. Yet oure fauour Christ dyd suffer, to the entente, to sygnifye to

How we shal vs, that death is ouercomable. We shal ouercome in dede ouercome it, yf we repente, and death. acknowledge that our fauour Iesu Christe

pacifyed with his panges and paynes the wrath of the father, hauyng a loue to walke in the wayes of God, yf we beleue in Iesus Christ, we shal ouercome death, I say, it shal not preuaile agaynst vs. Wherfor whensoeuer it chaunsfeth the my frende, to haue the tast-

What is to ynge of thys death, that thou shalte be done when temted wyth thys horror of deathe, what the horrour of death comes. is to be done then? whensoeuer thou felest thy soule heauy to death, make haste, and resorte to this gardaine, and with thys faith thou shalt ouercome thys terroure when it commeth. Oh it was a greuous

Why Chryst thynge, that Chryste suffered here. Oh suffered suche the greatnes of his dolour that he suffered payn in the in the garden, partlye to make amendes garden. for our finnes, and partly to delyuer vs from deathe, not so, that we shoulde not dye bodylye, but that thys death should be away to a better lyfe, and to destroye and ouercome hell. Oure Sauyoure Chryst had a gardayne, but he had littel pleasure in it. You haue many goodly gardaynes, I wold you wold in the myddes of theym confyder what agonye our sauyoure

A meditation Chryst suffered in hys gardayne. A goodly for vs in oure meditacion to haue in youre gardaines. It gardaynes shal occasyon you to delight no farther in vanities, but to remembre what he suffered for you. It

* For in that he himself hath suffered being tampted, he is able to succour them that are tampted.— Heb. ii. 18.

maye drawe you from synne? It is a good monumeunte, a good sygne, a good monycyon to confyder howe he behaued him selfe in this garden.

Well he sayeth to hys Discyple. Sytte here and praye wyth me. He wente a lytle way of, as it were a stones cast from them, and falles to hys prayer, and saith: *Pater si possibile est transeat a me calix iste.**

Father if it be possyble. Awaye wyth thys bytter cuppe thys outragious Payne. Yet after he correctes him selfe, and sayes: *Veruntamen non sicut ego voleo sed sicut tu vis.*†

Not my wyll but thy wyll be done O Father. Here is a good medytacyon for Chrysten menne, at all tymes, and not onelye vpon good fryday, Every day
should be
good fryday
to a Chrysten
man. lette good fryday be euerye day to a Christian manne to knowe, to vse hys passyon to that ende and purpose, not to reade the storie, but to take the fruyte of it.

Some menne if they hadde bene in thys agonye, woulde haue runne them selues through *i. Samu. xxvi.* with theyr fwardes as Saule dyd, some *ii. Samu. xvij.* woulde haue hangged theym selues, as Achitophell dyd.

Lette vs not folowe these menne. they be no examples for vs, but lette vs folowe Christe, whyche in hys agonye resorted to hys father wyth hys praier. This must be our patron to worke by. Here I might dilate the matter as touchyng prayinge to Sayntes, here we maye learne not to praye to We muste
pray to God
and not to sayntes. Sayntes. Christe byddes vs. *Ora patrem* pray to God
and not to sayntes. *qui est in celis.*‡

Praye to thy father that is in heauen, to the crestor, and not to any creature. And therfore awaye with these auowryes. Let god alone be oure auowry, what haue we to do to runne hither or thither, but onelye to the father of heauen. I wyl not tarye to speake of thys matter.

* O my Father, if it be possible, as thou willest.—Matt. xxvi. 39.
at this cup pass from me.—Matt. xxvi. 39.

† Pray ye: Our Father which art in heaven.—Matt. vi. 9.

‡ Nevertheless not as I will, but

Our Sauiour Christe set hys disciples in an ordre
and commaunded theym to watch, and praye, sayinge:
*Vigilate et orate.**

Watch and praye. Wherto shoulde they watche
Why the dis- and pray? he sayeth by and by: *Ne
ciples were intretis in temptationem.** That ye enter not
commanded into temptation. He byddes them not,
to pray praye that they be not tempted, for that is as muche
to say, as to prai that we should be out of thys world.
Ther is no man in thys worlde wythout temptation.
It the tyme of prosperyte we are tempted to wanton-
nes, pleasures, and all lyghtnes, in tyme of aduersyte to
dispayre in goddes goodnes. Temptacion neuer ceasies.

A dyffERENCE
betwene be-
ing tempted &
entryng into
temptacion.

Ther is a difference betwene beyng
tempted and entryng into temptation. He
byddes therfore not to praye that they be not
tempted but that they enter not into tem-
tacion. To be tempted is no euyll thyng.

For what is it? no more then when the fleshe, the
diuell and the worlde doeth solycyte and moue vs
agaynst God.

To geue place to these suggestions, and to yelde oure
To entre into felues, and suffer vs to be ouer comme of
temptacion. theym, thys is to enter into temptacyon.
Our sauoyoure Christe knewe that they shoulde be
greuoufly tempted and therfore he gaue them warn-
The apostles yng, that they shoulde not geue place to
were warned temptation, nor dyspayre at hys death. Anc
of theyr temp- tacion. yf they chaunched to forfake hym, or to
runne awaye, in case they tripped or fwarued, yet to
come agayne.

But oure Sauiour Chryste dyd not onely commaund
hys dysciples to praye, but fell downe vpon hys knee
Chryst dyd flat vpon the grounde and prayed byr
praye in hys selfe, sayinge: *Pater si fieri potest transec
a me calix iste.*† Father, delyuer me of thi
pange and Payne that I am in, thys outragious Payne

* Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation.—Matt. xxvi. 41. xxvi. 39.

† O my Father if it be possible.

This word, father, came euen from the bowels of hys harte, when he made hys mone, as who shoulde saye, father ryd me, I am in suche Payne that I can be in no greater? Thou art my father, I am thy sonne. Can the father forfiske his sonne in suche anguishe. Thus he made hys mone. Father take awaye this horrour of deathe from me, ryd me of thys Payne, suffer me not to be taken whan Iudas comes, suffer me not to be hanged on the crosse, suffer not my handes to be perced with nayles nor my harte wyth the sharpe speare. A wonderfull thynge, that he shoulde so oft tel his disciples of it before, and nowe when he commeth to the poynte, to defyre to be rydde of it, as though he woulde haue bene disobedient to the wyl of his father. Afore he sayed, he came to suffer, and now he sayes, a waye wyth thys cuppe. Who woulde haue thoughte that euer thys geare should haue come oute of Christes mouthe? What a case is this? What shuld a man say? You muste vnderstand, that Christe tooke vpon hym our infyrmities, Chryst tooke
vpon hym all
our infirmi-
ties, except
syn. of the whych thys was one to be forye at deathe. Amonge the styppendes of synne this was on[e] to trimble at the crosse, this is a punyfshement for oure synne.

It goeth otherwayes wyth vs, then wyth Christe, yf we were in lyke case, and in like agony, almost we woulde curse God, or rather wyshe that there were no God. Thys that he sayed, was not of that forte, it was referrynge the matter to the wyll of hys father, but we feke by al meanes be it righte, be it wrong of oure owne nature to be ryd out of Payne, he defyred it condicionally, as it myghte stande, wyth hys fathers wyll, addyng a *Veruntamen** to it.

So his request was to shewe the infyrmitye of man, here is now an example what we shal do, when we are in lyke case.

He never deserued it, we haue. He had a *Veruntamen*.* a not wythstandynge, An example
for vs when
we are tempted.

* Nevertheless.—Matt. xxvi. 39.

let vs haue so to, we muste haue a neuertheles, thy
wyll be done and not myne.

Geue me grace to be contente to submitte my wyl
vnto thyne. Hys facte teacheth vs what to do. Thys
When we are is oure surgerye, oure phisyke, when we
in Agonye what phisyck be in Agonye, And reken vpon it frendes,
we shuld vse. we shal come to it, we shal feele it, at one
tyme or an other.

What does he nowe? what came to passe nowe,
when he had harde no voyce? hys father was domme.

He resortes to hys frendes, seking some comfort at
theyr handes seyng he hade none at hys fathers
hande, he comes to hys disciples, and fyndes them a
slepe, he spake vnto Peter, and faied. Ah Peter arte
thou a slepe, Peter before had bragged stoutly, as
thoughe he woulde haue kylled, God haue mercye vpon
hys foule. And nowe when he shoulde have comforted
Christ, he was a slepe, not once buffe, nor baffe to
him, not a word, he was fayne to faye to hys dyscyples:
*Vigilate et orate.** Watche and pray, the spirit is ready,
but the fleshe is weake, he had neuer a worde of them
agayne. They myght at the leste haue fayed. Oh
Syr remember your selfe, are not you Christe came
not you into thys world, to redeme synne, be a good
cheare, be a good comforthe, this sorrow wil not healpe
you, conforte youre selfe by your owne preachynge,
you haue fayed: *Oportet filium hominis pati,*† You
haue not deferued any thing, it is not your faulthe.
In dede if they had done thys wyth hym, they had
played a frendlye parte wyth hym, but they gaue hym
not so muche as one comfortable worde. We ronne
to our frendes in our dystresses and Agonyes, as
though we had al oure trusfe and confydence in theym,
he dyd not so, he resorted to theim, but trusted not
in theym, we wyll ronne to our frendes and come no
more to God, he returned agayn.

What shall we not resorte to oure frendes in tyme

* Watch and pray.—Matt xxvi. 42. Thus it behoved Christ to suffer.

† The Son of man must suffer.—Luke xxiv. 46.
Luke ix. 22.

of nede? and trowe ye we shal not fynde them a slepe? yes I warrantee you, and when we nede theyr helpe most, we shal not haue it. But what shal we do, when we shall fynde lacke in theym? we wyll crye out vpon theym, vpbrayde them, chyde, braule, fume, chaufe and backbite them. But Chryſt dyd not ſo, he excused hys fryendes, ſayinge :

*Vigilate et orate spiritus quidem promptus eſt, caro autem infirma.** Oh (quouth he) watch and pray, I ſe wel the ſpirite is ready, but the fleſhe is weake. What meaneth this? ſuerelye it is a comfortable place. For as longe as we lyue in thys worlde, when we be at the beſt, we haue no more but. *Promptitudinem spiritus cum infirmitate carnis*, The redynesse of the ſpirite with the infirmitie of the fleſh. The verye Saynctes of God ſayed : *Velle adest mihi,†* My wyl is ^{Roma. vii.} good, but I am not able to performe it, I haue bene with ſome, and fayne they woulde, fayne they woulde, there was redines of ſpirite, but it woulde not be. It greued them that they coulde not take thynges, as they ſhould do.

The fleſhe refyſteth the worcke of the holy Gof in oure herte, and lettes it, lettes it. We haue to praye euer to God O prayer, praier, that it myght be vſed in thys Realme as it oughte to be of all menne, and ſpecyallye of Magyſtrates, of Counſaylers, of greate Rulers, to praye, to praye, that it woulde please God to putte Godly policies in their hertes. Call for aſyſtance. I haue heard ſay, when that good quene that is gon had ordeined in her house, dayly prayer both before none, and after none, the admiral ^{The admiral was a con-} gettes hym oute of the waye, lyke a moule ^{tempnar of commun praier} diggyng in the earth. He ſhalbe Lottes wyfe to me as long as I lyue. He was a couetous manne, an horrible couetous manne, I wolde there were no mo in England. He was an ambicioſ man.

* Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation: the ſpiritindeed is willing, but the fleſh is weak.— ^{† To will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good I find not.—Rom. vii. 18.} Matt. xxvi. 42.

I woulde there were no mo in Englande. He was a sedicious man, a contemnar of commune prayer, I would there were no mo in England, he is gone, I wold he had left none behind him: Remember you my lordes, that you pray in your houses to the better He wylleth mortification of your fleshe. Remember them to pray. god must be honored, I wyl you to praye that God wyl continew his spirit in you. I do not put you in comfort, that yf ye haue once the spirit, ye New spritis cannot lose it, Ther be new spirits start lately start vp now of late, that faye, after we haue vp receyued the spiryt, we cannot fynne. I wyll make but one argument. Saynt Paule had broughte the Galathyans to the posseſſyon of the fayth, and left theym in that state, they had receiued the spirit once, but they fynned agayne, as he testifyed of theym him selfe. He sayeth: *Currebatis bene.** Ve were once in a ryght state, and agayne. *Recipitis spirituum ex operibus legis, an ex iusticia fidei?* Once they had the spirit by faith, but false Prophetes came (when he was gone from them), and they plucked them cleane away from al that Paul had planted them in, and then faied Paul vnto them: *O stulti Galathi quis vos facinavit?*† yf this be true, we may lose ye sp[i]ryte, yat we haue once posſeſſed. It is a fond thyng, I wyll not tarry in it. But now to the passyon again. Christ had ben with hys father, and felt no healpe, he had bene with hys frendes, and had no comfort, he had prayed twyſe, and Chryst contynued in prayer. was not herd, what dyd he now? dyd he geue prayer ouer? no, he goeth agayne to hys father, and sayeth the same agayne, father if it be posſyble awaye with this cup, here is an example for vs although we be not herd at the first time, shal we geue ouer our praier? nay we must to it agayne, we must be importune vpon god, we must be instant in prayer. He prayed thryſe and was not herd, let vs finners praye

* Ye did run well. Gal. v. 7. of faith!—Gal. iii. 2.

† Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?—Gal. iii. 2.

thre score tymes, folkes are very dul now adaiers in praier, to come to sermons, to resorte to common praier. You houfkepers, and especially great men geue example of prayer in your houses. Well dyd hys

House kepers
and great men
must geue ex-
ample of
prayer.

father looke vpon him thys seconde tyme? no, he went to hys frendes agayne thynkyng to finde some comfort ther, but he findes them a slepe, again more deper a slepe then euer they were. Their eyes were heauy with slepe Ther was no comfort at all, they wist not what to say to hym. A wonderfull thing, how he was tost from post to piller, one whyle to hys father, and was destytute at hys hand, anothe whyle, to hys frendes, and founde no comfort at them, hys father gaue him loking on, and suffred him to bite vpon the brydle a whyle. Almyghtye God behelde thys battayle that he myghte enioye that honoure and glory, that in hys name al knees shuld bow, *Cælestium, Terrestrium, et infernorum.** in heauen, earth and hel. Thys that the father wolde not here hys owne sonne, was an other punyshemente due to our

God puny-
shes syn in
not hearyng
of our praiers.

synne. When we crye vnto hym, he wyll not here vs. The Prophet Ieremy sayeth. *Clamabunt ad me, et ego non exaudium eos.*† These be. Ieremyes wordes, here he threateneth to punyfhe syn wyth not hearyng theyr prayers. The prophet saythe. They haue not had the feare of God before theyr eyes, nor haue not regarded disciplyne and correction. I neuer sawe surely so lyttel discipline as is nowe adaiers. Men wilbe maysters, they wyl be maysters, and no Disciples. Alas where is thys disciplyne nowe in England. The people regarde no discipline, they be without al order. Wher thei shuld geue place, they wyll not stur one inch, yea, wher magistrates shold determinye matters, they wyl breake into the place, before they come, and at theyr commynge not moue a whitte for them. Is this discipline? Is thys good order? Yf a man say any thyng vnto them, they

* Of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth. —Phil. ii. 20. † I will not hear them in the time that they cry unto me for their trouble.—Jer. xi. 14.

regarde it not. They that be called to aunswere wyll not aunswere direclye, but skoffe the matter out. Men the more thei knowe, the worſſe they be, it is truely fayed.

*Sciencia inflat,** knowelege maketh vs proude and cauſſeth vs to forget all, and fet a waye discipline. Suerlye, in Poperye they had a reuerence, but now we haue none at all, I neuer fawſe the lyke. Thys ſame lacke of the feare of God, and discipline in vs, was one of the cauſes that the father woulde not heare hys ſonne. Thys payne ſuffered our ſauioure Christ for vs, who neuer deferued it. Oh what it was, that he ſuffered in thys gardeyn, til Iudas came. The doloures, the terroures, the ſorrowes that he ſuffered, be vnspeakeble, He ſuffered it, partelye, to make amedes for oure synnes, and partelye, to geue vs example, what wee ſhoulde do in lyke caſe.

What comes of thys gere in the ende? Wel, nowe he prayeth agayne, he reforteth to his father agayne. *Angore correptus, prolixius orabat.*† He was in forer paines, in more anguifhe, then euer he was, and therefore he prayeth longer, more ardentlye, more faruente-lye, more vehementelie, then euer he did before.

Oh Lorde, what a wonderfull thynge is thys, thys horroure of death is worſſe then death it ſelfe, more vgsome, more bytter then anye bodylye death. He prayeth nowe the thyrde tyme. He dyd it ſo inſtauntlye, ſo feruently, that it brought out a bloody ſweate, and fuche plentye that it dropped downe euen to the grounde. Ther iſſued out of hys precious bodye droppes of bloude. What a paine was he in, when theſe bloody droppes fell ſo abundantlye from hym. Yet for all that, how vnthankefull do we ſhewe oureſelues toward hym that dyed only for oure ſakes, and for the remedy of oure synnes. Oh what blaſphemye do we commit daye by daye, what little regard haue we to his blessed paſſion thus to ſweare by goddes

* Knowledge puffeth up.—1 Cor. viii. 7. † And being in an agony he prayed ſore earnestly.—Luke xxii. 44.

bloude, by Christes passion. We haue nothynge in no pastime, but gods bloude, gods woundes. We continually blasphemē his passion in haukyng, hunting, dising, and cardinge. Who would thynke he shoulde haue suche enemyes a monge those that proffesse hys name.

What became of hys bloude that fell downe trowē ye? was the bloude of Hale: of it (wo worthe it). What a do was it to bryngē thys out of the kynges heade, thys greate abhominacion of the bloude of hales could not be taken a great whyle out of his mynde. You that be of the court, and especially ye sworne chapleynes be ware of a lesson that a greate man taught me at my fyrt comming to the courte he tolde me for good wyll, he thoughte it well. He faye vnto me ~~You must beware howe foever ye do that ye contrari noi the Kynge, let hym haue hys sayinges, follow hym, go wyth hym. Mary out vpon thiys counsayle, shall I faye, as he fayes. Saye youre conscience, or elis what a worme shal ye fele gnawynge, what a remorse of conscience shall ye haue, when ye remembre howe ye haue flacked your dutye. It is a good wyse verse. *Gutta cauat lapidem, non ui sed soope ca-dendo.* The droppe of raine maketh a hole in the stone, not by violence, but by ofte fallynge. Lyke wyse a Prynce muste be turned not violentlye, but he muste be wonne by a lytle and a lytle. He muste haue hys dutye tolde hym, but it muste be done wyth humblenes, wyth request of pardon, or elis it were a daungerous thynge.~~

Vnpreacheyng Prelates haue bene the cause, that the bloude of Hales did so long blynd the Kynge. Wo worthe that suche an abhomynable thynge, shuld be in a Christen realme, but thankes be to God it was partly redressed in the Kynges dayes that dead is, and much more nowe. God graunte good wil, and power to go forwarde, yf ther be any suche abhomynacion behinde, that it may vtterly be rooted vp.

O. how happy are we, that it hath pleased almyghty God to vouchē safe, that his sonne shuld sweate bloud

for the redeming of oure synnes, and agayne howe vnhappye are we yf we wyll not take it thanckesfullye, but that was redemed so paynfullye. Alas what harde heartes haue we. Oure Sauiour Christ never synned, and yet sweat he bloud for our synnes, we wyll not once watter oure eyes wyth a fewe teares. What an horrible thing is sinne? that no other thyng wold remedy and paye the ransom for it, but only the bloud of our Sauioure Christe. There was nothinge to pacify the fathers wrath agaynst man, but suche an Agonye as he suffered. All the passyon of all the martyrs that euer were, al the sacryfyses of Patryarkes that euer were, al the good workes that euer were done, were not able to remedy oure synne, to make satiffaction for oure synnes, nor anye thyng besydes; but thys extreme passion and blud sheddynge of our most merciful Sauioure Christ.

But to drawe towarde an ende, what became of thys thre fold prayer at ye length, it pleased God to here his sonnes prayer, and sent hym an angell to corroborate, to strengthen, to comforthe hym.

Christ nede no angels helpe, if he had lysted to eas him selfe wyth hys deitie. He was the sonne of God what then? for so much as he was man he receyued comforthe at the Aungels hande, as it accordes to ou infirmitie. Hys obedience, his contynuance, and fulferynge, so pleased the father of heauen, that for hi sonnes sake, be he never so greate a synner, leauyng hys synne, and repenteynge for the same, he wyll ow hym suche fauoure, as though he had never commyte anye synne.

The father of heauen wyll not suffer him to be tempted with thys greate horrour of deathe and he to the vttermoste, and aboue that he is able to beare. Looke for it my frendes, by him and through hi ye shalbe able to ouercome it, let vs do as ou Sauioure Christe dyd, and we shal haue helpe fro aboue, we shal haue aungels helpe, yf we trust in hyn heauen and earth shall geue vp, rather then we shal

lacke helpe, He saith he is. *Adiutor in necessitatibus.** an helper in tyme of nede. When the aungell had comforted hym, and when thys horroure of deathe was gone, he was so strong, that he offered himselfe to Iudas, and sayed. I am he. To make an ende, I praye you take paines : it is a daye of penaunce (as we vse to say) geue me leue to make you werye thys daye. The Iewes had hym to Cayphas and Annas, and there they whypt hym, and bet hym, they sette a crowne of sharpe thorne vpon hys head, and nayled hym to a tree, yet al thys was not so bytter, as thys horroure of death, and thys Agony, that he suffered in the gardayne, in suche a degree as is dewe to al the synnes of the worlde, and not to one mannes synne.

Well, thys passion is our remedye, it is the satifac-tyon for oure synnes. Hys soule descended to hell for a tyme. Here is muche a do, these newe vpstartynge spirites, say Christ neuer descended into hel, neyther body nor soule. In scorne they wil aske, was he ther, what did he there ? what if we cannot tell what he dyd there ? The Crede goeth no further, but sayeth, he descended thyther, what is that to vs if we cannot tell seynge we were taughte no further. Paulle was taken vp into the third heauen, aske lykewyse what he sawe when he was caried thyther, you shall not fynde in scripture what he sawe or what he dyd there, shal we not therfore beleue that he was there.

These arrogant spirites, spirites of vayne glorye : because they knowe not by any expr[e]sse scripture, the order of his doynges in hell, they wil not beleue that euer he descended into hell. In dede thys article hathe not so full scripture, so many places and testi-monyes of scriptures as other haue, yet it hathe ynoch, it hath. ii. or. iii. textes, and if it had but one, one texte of scripture, is of as good and lawfull authoryte as a. M. [thousand] and of as certayne truth. It is not to be wayed by the multitude of textes. I beleue as certaynely and verely that thys Realme of Englande hath as good authoryte to here Goddes word as any

* Grace to help in time of need.—Heb. iv. 16.

nation in al the worlde, it maye be gathered by. ii. textes, one of theym is thys.

*Ite in uiuerfum mundum, et predicate euangelium omni creature.**

Go int'o the whole world, and preache the Gospell to all creatures. And agayne. *deus uult omnes homines salvos fieri.*† God wyl haue al men to be sauued, he exceptes not the Englishemen here, nor yet expresselye nameth theym, and yet I am as sure, that thys Realme of Englande, by this gatherynge, is allowed to here Goddes word, as though Christe hadde fayed a thousande tymes, Go preache to Englishmen, I wyl that Englishmen be sauued. Because thys article of hys descendyng into hell, cannot be gathered so directlye, no necessarylye, so formallye they do vtterlye denye it. Thys article hath Scriptures two or three. Inoughe for quiet myndes, as for curiouse braynes nothyng can contente them.

This is the dyuels sterryng vp of suche spirites of fedicion, is an euidente argumente, that the light is come forth, for his word is a brode, when the dyuel russheth, when he roreth, when he styrreth vp suche busie spirites, to sclauder it. My entent is not to entreate of thys matter at thys tyme. I trust the people wyl not be caryed awaye wyth these newe arrogant spirites. I dout not, but good preachers wyl labour agaynst them. But now I wyl faye a worde, and herein I protest syrste of al, not arrogantly to determyne, and defyne it, I wyl contende wyth no man for it, I wyl not haue it be preuidice to any body, but I offer it vnto you to confydre and waye it.

There be some greate clarkes that take my parte, and I perceyue not what euill can come of it, in saying, yat our Sauiour Christe dyd not onely, in soule descende into hell, but also that he suffered in hel suche paynes as the damned spirites dyd suffer there. Suerli, I beleue verelie for my parte, that he suffered the paynes of hell proporcionably, as it correspondes

* Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. + God our Saviour: who will haue all men to be saved.—*Thy. ii. 3, 4. v. Mark xvi. 15.*

and aunsweres to the whole fynne of the worlde. He would not suffer onelye bodelye in the gardayne and vpon the crosse, but also in hys soule, when it was from the bodye, whyche was a Payne dewe for oure fynne.

Some wrytte so, and I can beleue it that he suffered in the very place, I can not tell what it is, call it what ye wil, euen in the skaldinge house, in the vgsomnes of the place, in the presence of the place, suche Payne as our capacitie cannot attayne vnto, it is some what declared vnto vs, when we vtter it by these effectes, by fyre, by gnashyng of teeth, by the worme that gnaweth on the conscience. What so euer the Payne is, it is a greate Payne that he suffered for vs. I se no inconuenience to saye, that Christe suffered in soule in hell.

I singularely commende the exeadynge greate charitie of Christ that for our sakes wold suffer in hell in his soule. It serches outhe the vnspeakable hatred that God hathe to fynne. I perceyue not that it doth derogate any thing from ye dignitee of Christes death, as in ye gardayne, when he suffered, it derogates nothing from yat he suffred on the crosse. Scripture speaketh on this fassion. *qui credit in me, habet uitam æternam.** He that beleueth in me, hath lyfe euerlastynge. Here he settes furth fayth, as the cause of our iustificacion, in other places as high commendacion is geuen to workes, and yet are the worckes anye derogacion from that dignitee, fayth? No. And agayne scripture fayeth. *Traditus est propter peccata nostra et excusitatus propter iustificationem etc.*†

It attributeth here oure iustification, to his resurection, and doeth thys derogate anye thynge from hys death? not a whit. It is whole Christ. What wyth his nativitye, what with his circumcision, what wyth hys incarnacion, and the whole processe of hys lyfe, wyth hys preachyng, what wyth hys ascendynge, descend-

* He that believeth on me hath offences, and was red again for oys everlasting life.—John vi. 47.

† Who was delivered for our

ynge, what wyth his death, it is all Christe that worketh oure saluacion.

He fitteth on the ryght hande of the father, and all for vs. All this is the worke of oure saluation. I woulde be as loeth, to derogate any thing from Christes death as the best of you al. How vnes-
mably are we bound to hym? what thankes oughte we to geue hym for it? We muste haue thys continuallye in remembraunce. *propter te morti morti tradimur tota die.** For the, we are in diynge continuallye.

The life of a Christen man is nothynge but a readines to dye, and a remembraunce of death, If thys that I haue spoken of Christes sufferynge in the gardayne, and in hell, derogate any thinge from Christes death and passion, awaye wyth it, beleue me not in this, if it do not, it commendes and settes furth very wel vnto vs, the perfection of the satisfacion that Christ made for vs, and the worke of a redemption, not onely before wytnes in thys worlde, but in hel in that vgsome place, wherto whether he suffered, or wrastled with the spirites, or comforted Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob. I wyl not desier to knowe, if ye lyke not that which I haue spoken of hys sufferynge, let it go. I wyl not striue in it. I wil be prejudice to nobody, weye it as ye list. I do but offer it you to consider. It is like his soule did somwhat, the thre dayes that hys body lay in the graue. To saye he suffered in hell for vs derogats nothing from his death, for al thinges that Christ did before his suffering on the crosse, and after do worke oure saluacion, if he had not bene incarnat, he had not dyed, he was beneficial to vs with al thinges he did. Christen people should haue his sufferinge for them in remembraunce, let your gardains monishe you, your pleasaunt gardaynes what Christ suffred for you in the Gardayne, and what commoditie you haue by hys sufferynge.

It is hys wyl ye shoulde so do, he woulde be hadde in remembraunce. Myxt youre pleafurs with the remembraunce of his bitter passion. The whole passion

* For thy sake are we killed all the day long.—Psa. xlii. 22.

.s satiffaction for oure synnes, and not the bare death, confideryng it so nakedly by it selfe. The maner of spekyng of scripture is to be considered. It attributeth oure saluacion, nowe to one thynge, nowe to a nother that Christe dyd, where indede it pertayned to all. Oure Sauioure Christe hath leste behynd hym, a remembraunce of hys passion, the blessed cornmunion, the celebration of the Lordes supper, a lacke it hath bene longe abused, as the sacrifices were before, in the oulde law. The Patriarkes vsed sacrifice, in the fayeth of the seade of the woman, whyche shoulde breake the serpentes hed. The Patriarkes sacrificised on hope, and afterwarde the worcke was estemed.

There comes other after, and they consider not the fayth of Abraham, and the Patriarkes, but do theyr sacrifice accordynge to theyr owne imaginacion, euen so came it to passe wyth oure blessed communion.

In the primatyue churche, in plages, when theyr fryendes were deade, they vsed to come together to the holy communion. What? to remedye them that were deade? No, not a strawe. It was not instituted for no suche purpose.

But then they would call to remembraunce goddes goodnes, and his passion that he suffered for vs, wherein they comforted much theyr fayth. Other came after warde and settes vp all these kyndes of maffynge, all these kyndes of iniquite. What an abhominacion is it? the foulest that euer was to attribute to mans worke oure saluacion. God be thanked that we haue thys blessed communion set forth so nowe, that we maye comfort, encrease, and fortify our fayth at that blessed celebration. Yf he be gyltye of the bodye of Christ, that takes it vneworthely, he fetcheth greate conforte at it, that eate it worthely, He doothe eate it worthelye, that doeth it in fayeth. In fayeth? in what fayeth? Not long ago a great man, sayed in an audience, they bable much of faith, I wyll go lye wyth my whore al nyghte, and haue as good a fayth, as the best of them al. I thynke he never knewe other, but the whore mongers

fayth. It is no such fayth that wyll serue. It is no brybyng Iudges, or iustices faith, no rentreasers fayeth, no hore mongers fayth, no lease mongers fayth, no seller of benefices faith, but the fayth in the passion of oure Sauioure Christ, we must beleue that our Sauioure Christ hath taken vs agayne to hys fa[u]oure, that he hath deliuered vs hys owne bodye and bloude to plead with the dyuel, and by merite of hys owne passion, of his owne mere liberalitie. This is the fayth I tel you, that we must come to the communion with, and not the horemongers faith? Loke where remission of sin is, ther is acknowledging of sin also. Fayth is a noble duches, she hath euer her gentleman vsher going before her, the confessing of sinnes, she hath a trayne after her, the frutes of good workes, the walking in the commaundementes of god. He yat beleueth, wyll no[t] be idle, he wyl walke, he wil do his busines, haue euer the gentleman vsher with you. So if ye wil trye fayth, remember this rule, consider whether the trayne be waytinge vpon her. Yf you haue another fayth then thys, a whoremongers fayth, you are lyke to go [to] ye Scalding house, and ther you shal haue two dishes, wepyng and gnashinge of teeth, muche good do it you, you se your fare. If yewil beleue and acknowledge your synnes, you shall come to ye blessed communion of the bitter passion of

Christ, worthily, and

so attayne

to euer-

lastynge lyfe, to

the whiche the

father of hea-

uen bringe

you and

me

